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HISTORIC NOTES

ON

THE NORTHWEST

GLEANED FROM EARLY AUTHORS, OLD MAPS AND MANUSCRIPTS,
PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE, AND OTHER
AUTHENTIC, THOUGH, FOR THE MOST PART,
OUT-OF-THE-WAY SOURCES.

✓
BY H. W. BECKWITH,

OF THE DANVILLE BAR; CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF
WISCONSIN AND CHICAGO.

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WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

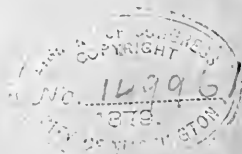
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By H. W. BECKWITH AND SON.



PREFACE.

In the following pages the writer has limited himself, for the most part, to the territory watered by the Illinois, the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, the Maumee and the Wabash rivers. He has chosen to do so to the end that the early history of the country treated of might be the more fully considered. The topographical features of, and the military and civil events occurring in, localities beyond these limits have been noticed only in so far as they are directly connected with, or tend to illustrate the field occupied.

It has been an aim of the writer to perpetuate the history of the relations which the discovery and early commerce of the northwest has sustained to its peculiar topographical features. Nature made the routes and pointed out the means of our inland communication. The first explorations of the northwest were made by way of the lakes, the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers, the St. Josephs of Lake Michigan, the Illinois River and Chicago Creek, the Maumee and the Wabash and their connecting portages. These were also the routes by which the first commerce was carried on. Formerly the country was a wilderness of forests and prairies, and the abode of wild animals and the wild men who hunted them for their furs and skins, which were the only commodities for export. In the progress of time the fur-bearing animals and the Indians have disappeared. The wilderness has been subdued, and the products of its cultivated fields now find their way to the marts of Europe. The canoe which carried the furs and peltries to tide water gave way to the canal boat, and the canal boat has been supplanted by the steamer and the railway car. *The routes have always remained essentially the same.* They have merely been enlarged and perfected from time to time, to meet the ever-increasing demands of the west in the successive stages of its development.

The country drained by the rivers we have named is rich in the poetry and romance of history, reaching back nearly two centuries in the past, where the outlines of written records fade away in the twilight and charm tradition. By the routes we have named came the Jesuit Fathers, with crucifix and altar, bearing the truths of Christianity to distant and savage tribes. Along these routes passed the *Coureurs-de-bois* and the *Voyageurs*,—gay and happy sons of France—with knives, guns, blankets and trinkets to exchange with the Indians for products of the chase. Following the traders came French colonists, who, on their way from Canada to Louisiana, passed up the Maumee and down the Wabash, nearly three-quarters of a century before the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed.

Along these streams were the villages of the most powerful Indian confederacies. It was but natural that they should defend their country against the encroachment of another race; and the strife between the two for its possession furnishes material for many thrilling events in its history. In treating of the Indians, the writer has had no theories to advocate or morbid sentiments to gratify; he has only quoted what he has found in volumes regarded as standard authorities, without prejudice in favor or against this people. They have given away before an inexorable law, the severity of which could have been only modified at best. The writer believes the dominant race, out of their love for truth, will accord the Indian that even-handed justice to which he

is historically entitled. Our knowledge of this people is fragmentary at best. They kept no records, and have no historians. All we know of them is to be found in the writings of persons who, if not their open enemies, at least had little interest in doing them justice. As a rule, early travelers have only alluded in an incidental way to the aboriginal inhabitants, or their manners and customs. We know, at best, but very little of the Indians who formerly occupied the country east of the Mississippi. They have passed away, and the information that has been preserved concerning them is so scattered through the volumes of authors who have written from other motives, and at different dates or of different nations, without taking thought to discriminate, that anything like a satisfactory account of a particular tribe is not attainable. However, the writer has in the following pages given the result of his gleanings over a wide field of authors,—French, English and American,—so far as they relate to the several tribes who formerly occupied that portion of the Northwest to which the attention of the reader has been called. The writer has preserved the aboriginal, as well as the French and early English names of the lakes, rivers, Indian villages and other localities possessing historical interest, whenever attainable from books, maps or manuscripts to which he has had access.

Commercial enterprise led to the exploration of the northwest. It was competition for the fur trade between rival races, the French and the Anglo-Saxon, that produced the collision between the subjects of the two colonies in America, that finally culminated in a war between France and England, aided by their respective colonies, that resulted in the loss of the whole Mississippi valley to its first discoverers. It was a desire to retain control of the fur trade that contributed largely to the bitterness of the Indian border wars that commenced as soon as emigration began to extend itself west of the Alleghanies; and the same cause prolonged the Indian troubles for years after the country had ceased to be a part of the dominion of either France or Great Britain.

Beginning with the mission work of the Jesuit Fathers on the southern shore of Lake Superior, in 1660, and extending down to 1800, but little is known of the country lying north and west of the Ohio river; and the meagre material is only to be found in antiquated books and maps long out of print, or in manuscript correspondence of a private or official character, none of which is accessible to the general reader. It is chiefly from these sources that most of the matter contained in the present volume has been collated. As far as practicable the writer has preferred to introduce his authorities upon the stand and let them tell their stories in their own language, leaving the readers to draw their own conclusions from what the witnesses have stated. Wherever attainable, original sources of information are given.

Besides such authors as Hennepin, Charlevoix and the invaluable translations and contributions of Dr. John G. Shea, the writer has availed himself freely of the Jesuit Relations and the publications of the historical societies of Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York and Wisconsin.

The writer is conscious that his task, voluntarily assumed, has been but indifferently performed.

H. W. B.

DANVILLE, ILL., Nov. 5, 1879.

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HISTORIC NOTES ON THE NORTHWEST.

CHAPTER I.

TOPOGRAPHY.

THE reader will have a better understanding of the manner in which the territory, herein treated of, was discovered and subsequently occupied, if reference is made, in the outset, to some of its more important topographical features.

Indeed, it would be an unsatisfactory task to try to follow the routes of early travel, or to undertake to pursue the devious wanderings of the aboriginal tribes, or trace the advance of civilized society into a country, without some preliminary knowledge of its topography.

Looking upon a map of North America, it is observed that westward of the Alleghany Mountains the waters are divided into two great masses; the one, composed of waters flowing into the great northern lakes, is, by the river St. Lawrence, carried into the Atlantic Ocean; the other, collected by a multitude of streams spread out like a vast net over the surface of more than twenty states and several territories, is gathered at last into the Mississippi River, and thence discharged into the Gulf of Mexico.

As it was by the St. Lawrence River, and the great lakes connected with it, that the Northwest Territory was discovered, and for many years its trade mainly carried on, a more minute notice of this remarkable water communication will not be out of place. Jacques Cartier, a French navigator, having sailed from St. Malo, entered, on the 10th of August, 1535, the Gulf, which he had explored the year before, and named it the St. Lawrence, in memory of the holy martyr whose feast is celebrated on that day. This name was subsequently extended to the river. Previous to this it was called the River of Canada, the name given by the Indians to the whole country.* The drainage of the St. Lawrence and the lakes extends through 14 degrees of longitude, and covers a distance of over two thousand miles. Ascending

*Father Charlevoix' "History and General Description of New France;" Dr. John G. Shea's translation; vol. 1, pp. 37, 115.

this river, we behold it flanked with bold crags and sloping hillsides; its current beset with rapids and studded with a thousand islands; combining scenery of marvelous beauty and grandeur. Seven hundred and fifty miles above its mouth, the channel deepens and the shores recede into an expanse of water known as Lake Ontario.*

Passing westward on Lake Ontario one hundred and eighty miles a second river is reached. A few miles above its entry into the lake, the river is thrown over a ledge of rock into a yawning chasm, one hundred and fifty feet below; and, amid the deafening noise and clouds of vapor escaping from the agitated waters is seen the great Falls of Niagara. At Buffalo, twenty-two miles above the falls, the shores of Niagara River recede and a second great inland sea is formed, having an average breadth of 40 miles and a length of 240 miles. This is Lake Erie. The name has been variously spelt,—Earie, Herie, Erige and Erike. It has also born the name of Conti.† Father Hennepin says: "The Hurons call it Lake Erige, or Erike, that is to say, the Lake of the Cat, and the inhabitants of Canada have softened the word to Erie;" *vide* "A New Discovery of a Vast Country in America," p. 77; London edition, 1698.

Hennepin's derivation is substantially followed by the more accurate and accomplished historian, Father Charlevoix, who at a later period, in 1721, in writing of this lake uses the following words: "The name it bears is that of an Indian nation of the Huron language, which was formerly settled on its banks and who have been entirely destroyed by the Iroquois. Erie in that language signifies cat, and in some accounts this nation is called the cat nation." He adds: "Some modern maps have given Lake Erie the name of Conti, but with no better success than the names of Conde, Tracy and Orleans which have been given to Lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan."‡

At the upper end of Lake Erie, to the southward, is Maumee Bay, of which more hereafter; to the northward the shores of the lake again

* Ontario has been favored with several names by early authors and map makers. Champlain's map, 1632, lays it down as Lac St. Louis. The map prefixed to Colden's "History of the Five Nations" designates it as Cata-ra-qui, or Ontario Lake. The word is Huron-Iroquois, and is derived, in their language, from *Onta*, a lake, and *io*, beautiful, the compound word meaning a beautiful lake; *vide* Letter of DuBois D'Avangour, August 16, 1663, to the Minister: Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 16. Baron LaHontan, in his work and on the accompanying map, calls it Lake Frontenac; *vide* "New Voyages to North America," vol. 1, p. 219. And Frontenac, the name by which this lake was most generally designated by the early French writers, was given to it in honor of the great Count Frontenac, Governor-General of Canada.

† Narrative of Father Zenobia Membre, who accompanied Sienr La Salle in the voyage westward on this lake in 1679; *vide* "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," by Dr. John G. Shea, p. 90. Barou La Hontan's "Voyages to North America," vol. 1, p. 217, also map prefixed; London edition, 1703. Cadwalder Colden's map, referred to in a previous note, designates it as "Lake Erie, or Okswego."

‡ Journal of a Voyage to North America, vol. 2, p. 2; London Edition, 1761.

approach each other and form a channel known as the River Detroit, a French word signifying a strait or narrow passage. Northward some twenty miles, and above the city of Detroit, the river widens into a small body of water called Lake St. Clair. The name as now written is incorrect: "we should either retain the French form, Claire, or take the English Clare. It received its name in honor of the founder of the Franciscan nuns, from the fact that La Salle reached it on the day consecrated to her."* Northward some twelve miles across this lake the land again encroaches upon and contracts the waters within another narrow bound known as the Strait of St. Clair. Passing up this strait, northward about forty miles, Lake Huron is reached. It is 250 miles long and 190 miles wide, including Georgian Bay on the east, and its whole area is computed to be about 21,000 square miles. Its magnitude fully justified its early name, *La Mer-douce*, the Fresh Sea, on account of its extreme vastness.† The more popular name of Huron, which has survived all others, was given to it from the great Huron nation of Indians who formerly inhabited the country lying to the eastward of it. Indeed, many of the early French writers call it *Lac des Hurons*, that is, Lake of the Hurons. It is so laid down on the maps of Hennepin, La Hontan, Charlevoix and Colden in the volumes before quoted.

Going northward, leaving the Straits of Mackinaw, through which Lake Michigan discharges itself from the west, and the chain of Manitoulin Islands to the eastward, yet another river, the connecting link between Lake Huron and Superior, is reached. Its current is swift, and a mile below Lake Superior are the Falls, where the water leaps and tumbles down a channel obstructed by boulders and shoals, where, from time immemorial, the Indians of various tribes have resorted on account of the abundance of fish and the ease with which they are taken. Previous to the year 1670 the river was called the Sault, that is, the rapids, or falls. In this year Fathers Marquette and Dablon founded here the mission of "St. Marie du Sault" (St. Mary of the Falls), from which the modern name of the river, St. Mary's, is derived.‡ Recently the United States have perfected the ship canal cut in solid rock, around the falls, through which the largest vessels can now pass, from the one lake to the other.

Lake Superior, in its greatest length, is 360 miles, with a maximum breadth of 140, the largest of the five great American lakes, and the most extensive body of fresh water on the globe. Its form has been

* Note by Dr. Shea, "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi," p. 143.

† Champlain's map, 1632. Also "Memoir on the Colony of Quebec," August 4, 1663: Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 16.

‡ Charlevoix' "History of New France," vol. 2, p. 119; also note.

poetically and not inaccurately described by a Jesuit Father, whose account of it is preserved in the Relations for the years 1669 and 1670: "This lake has almost the form of a bended bow, and in length is more than 180 leagues. The southern shore is as it were the cord, the arrow being a long strip of land [Keweenaw Point] issuing from the southern coast and running more than 80 leagues to the middle of the lake." A glance on the map will show the aptness of the comparison. The name Superior was given to it by the Jesuit Fathers, "in consequence of its being *above* that of Lake Huron.* It was also called Lake Tracy, after Marquis De Tracy, who was governor-general of Canada from 1663 to 1665. Father Claude Allouez, in his "Journal of Travels to the Country of the Ottawas," preserved in the Relations for the years 1666, 1667, says: "After passing through the St. Mary's River we entered the upper lake, which will hereafter bear the name of Monsieur Tracy, an acknowledgment of the obligation under which the people of this country are to him." The good father, however, was mistaken; the name Tracy only appears on a few ancient maps, or is perpetuated in rare volumes that record the almost forgotten labors of the zealous Catholic missionaries; while the earlier name of Lake "Superior" is familiar to every school-boy who has thumbed an atlas.

At the western extremity of Lake Superior enter the Rivers Bois-Brule and St. Louis, the upper tributaries of which have their sources on the northeasterly slope of a water-shed, and approximate very near the head-waters of the St. Croix, Prairie and Savannah Rivers, which, issuing from the opposite side of this same ridge, flow into the upper Mississippi.

The upper portions of Lakes Huron, Michigan, Green Bay, with their indentations, and the entire coast line, with the islands eastward and westward of the Straits of Mackinaw, are all laid down with quite a degree of accuracy on a map attached to the Relations of the Jesuits for the years 1670 and 1671, a copy of which is contained in Bancroft's History of the United States,† showing that the reverend fathers were industrious in mastering and preserving the geographical features of the wilderness they traversed in their holy calling.

Lake Michigan is the only one of the five great lakes that lays wholly within the United States,—the other four, with their connecting rivers and straits, mark the boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the United States. Its length is 320 miles; its average breadth 70, with a mean depth of over 1,000 feet. Its area is some

* Relations of 1660 and 1669. † Vol. 3, p. 152; fourth edition.

22,000 square miles, being considerably more than that of Lake Huron and less than that of Lake Superior.

Michigan was the last of the lakes in order of discovery. The Hurons, christianized and dwelling eastward of Lake Huron, had been driven from their towns and cultivated fields by the Iroquois, and scattered about Mackinaw and the desolate coast of Lake Superior beyond, whither they were followed by their faithful pastors, the Jesuits, who erected new altars and gathered the remnants of their stricken followers about them; all this occurred before the fathers had acquired any definite knowledge of Lake Michigan. In their mission work for the year 1666, it is referred to "as the Lake Illinouek, a great lake adjoining, or between, the lake of the Hurons and that of Green Bay, that had not [as then] come to their knowledge." In the Relation for the same year, it is referred to as "Lake Illeaouers," and "Lake Illinioues, as yet unexplored, though much smaller than Lake Huron, and that the Outagamies [the Fox Indians] call it Machi-hi-gan-ing." Father Hennepin says: "The lake is called by the Indians, 'Illinouck,' and by the French, 'Illinois,'" and that the "Lake Illinois, in the native language, signifies the 'Lake of Men.'" He also adds in the same paragraph, that it is called by the Miamis, "Mischigonong, that is, the great lake."* Father Marest, in a letter dated at Kaskaskia, Illinois, November 9, 1712, so often referred to on account of the valuable historical matter it contains, contracts the aboriginal name to *Michigan*, and is, perhaps, the first author who ever spelt it in the way that has become universal. He naïvely says, "that on the maps this lake has the name, without any authority, of the '*Lake of the Illinois*,' since the Illinois do not dwell in its neighborhood."†

* Hennepin's "New Discovery of a Vast Country in America," vol. 1, p. 35. The name is derived from the two Algonquin words, Michi (mishi or missi), which signifies great, as it does, also, several or many, and Sagayigan, a lake; *vide* Henry's Travels, p. 37, and Alexander Mackenzie's Vocabulary of Algonquin Words.

† Kip's Early Jesuit Missions, p. 222.

CHAPTER II.

DRAINAGE OF THE ILLINOIS AND WABASH.

THE reader's attention will now be directed to the drainage of the Illinois and Wabash Rivers to the Mississippi, and that of the Maumee River into Lake Erie. The Illinois River proper is formed in Grundy county, Illinois, below the city of Joliet, by the union of the Kankakee and Desplaines Rivers. The latter rises in southeastern Wisconsin; and its course is almost south, through the counties of Cook and Will. The Kankakee has its source, in the vicinity of South Bend, Indiana. It pursues a devious way, through marshes and low grounds, a south-westerly course, forming the boundary-line between the counties of Laporte, Porter and Lake on the north, and Stark, Jasper and Newton on the south; thence across the dividing line of the two states of Indiana and Illinois, and some fifteen miles into the county of Kankakee, at the confluence of the Iroquois River, where its direction is changed northwest to its junction with the Desplaines. The Illinois passes westerly into the county of Putnam, where it again turns and pursues a generally southwest course to its confluence with the Mississippi, twenty miles above the mouth of the Missouri. It is about five hundred miles long; is deep and broad, and in several places expands into basins, which may be denominated lakes. Steamers ascend the river, in high water, to La Salle; from whence to Chicago navigation is continued by means of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. The principal tributaries of the Illinois, from the north and right bank, are the Au Sable, Fox River, Little Vermillion, Bureau Creek, Kickapoo Creek (which empties in just below Peoria), Spoon River, Sugar Creek, and finally Crooked Creek. From the south or left bank are successively the Iroquois (into the Kankakee), Mazon Creek, Vermillion, Crow Meadow, Mackinaw, Sangamon, and Macoupin.

The Wabash issues out of a small lake, in Mercer county, Ohio, and runs a westerly course through the counties of Adams, Wells and Huntington in the state of Indiana. It receives Little River, just below the city of Huntington, and continues a westwardly course through the counties of Wabash, Miami and Cass. Here it turns more to the south, flowing through the counties of Carroll and Tippecanoe, and marking the boundary-line between the counties of Warren

and Vermillion on the west, and Fountain and Park on the east. At Covington, the county seat of Fountain county, the river runs more directly south, between the counties of Vermillion on the one side, and Fountain and Parke on the other, and through the county of Vigo, some miles below Terre Haute, from which place it forms the boundary-line between the states of Indiana and Illinois to its confluence with the Ohio.

Its principal tributaries from the north and west, or right bank of the stream, are Little River, Eel River, Tippecanoe, Pine Creek, Red Wood, Big Vermillion, Little Vermillion, Bruletis, Sugar Creek, Embarras, and Little Wabash. The streams flowing in from the south and east, or left bank of the river, are the Salamonie, Mississinewa, Pipe Creek, Deer Creek, Wildcat, Wea and Shawnee Creeks, Coal Creek, Sugar Creek, Raccoon Creek, Otter Creek, Busseron Creek, and White River.

There are several other, and smaller, streams not necessary here to notice, although they are laid down on earlier maps, and mentioned in old "Gazetteers" and "Emigrant's Guides."

The Maumee is formed by the St. Joseph and St. Mary's Rivers, which unite their waters at Ft. Wayne, Indiana. The St. Joseph has its source in Hillsdale county, Michigan, and runs southwesterly through the northwest corner of Ohio, through the county of De Kalb, and into the county of Allen, Indiana. The St. Mary's rises in An Glaize county, Ohio, very near the little lake at the head of the Wabash, before referred to, and runs northwestwardly parallel with the Wabash, through the counties of Mercer, Ohio, and Adams, Indiana, and into Allen county to the place of its union with the St. Joseph, at Ft. Wayne. The principal tributaries of the Maumee are the Au Glaize from the south, Bear Creek, Turkey Foot Creek, Swan Creek from the north. The length of the Maumee River, from Ft. Wayne northeast to Maumee Bay at the west end of Lake Erie, is very little over 100 miles.

A noticeable feature relative to the territory under consideration, and having an important bearing on its discovery and settlement, is the fact that many of the tributaries of the Mississippi have their branches interwoven with numerous rivers draining into the lakes. They not infrequently issue from the same lake, pond or marsh situated on the summit level of the divide from which the waters from one end of the common reservoir drain to the Atlantic Ocean and from the other to the Gulf of Mexico. By this means nature herself provided navigable communication between the northern lakes and the Mississippi Valley. It was, however, only at times of the vernal floods that the

communication was complete. At other seasons of the year it was interrupted, when transfers by land were required for a short distance. The places where these transfers were made are known by the French term *portage*, which, like many other foreign derivatives, has become anglicized, and means a carrying place; because in low stages of water the canoes and effects of the traveler had to be carried around the dry marsh or pond from the head of one stream to the source of that beyond.

The first of these portages known to the Europeans, of which accounts have come down to us, is the portage of the Wisconsin, in the state of that name, connecting the Mississippi and Green Bay by means of its situation between the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers. The next is the portage of Chicago, uniting Chicago Creek, which empties into Lake Michigan at Chicago, and the Desplaines of the Illinois River. The third is the portage of the Kankakee, near the present city of South Bend, Indiana, which connects the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan with the upper waters of the Kankakee. And the fourth is the portage of the Wabash at Ft. Wayne, Indiana, between the Maumee and the Wabash, by way of Little River.

Though abandoned and their former uses forgotten in the advance of permanent settlement and the progress of more efficient means of commercial intercourse, these portages were the gateways of the French between their possessions in Canada and along the Mississippi.

Formerly the Northwest was a wilderness of forest and prairie, with only the paths of wild animals or the trails of roving Indians leading through tangled undergrowth and tall grasses. In its undeveloped form it was without roads, incapable of land carriage and could not be traveled by civilized man, even on foot, without the aid of a savage guide and a permit from its native occupants which afforded little or no security to life or property. For these reasons the lakes and rivers, with their connecting portages, were the only highways, and they invited exploration. They afforded ready means of opening up the interior. The French, who were the first explorers, at an early day, as we shall hereafter see, established posts at Detroit, at the mouth of the Niagara River, at Mackinaw, Green Bay, on the Illinois River, the St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan, on the Maumee, the Wabash, and at other places on the route of inter-lake and river communication. By means of having seized these strategical points, and their influence over the Indian tribes, the French monopolized the fur trade, and although *feebly* assisted by the home government, held the whole Mississippi Valley and regions of the lakes, for near three quarters of a century, against all efforts of the English colonies, eastward of the Alleghany ridge, who, assisted by England, sought to wrest it from their grasp.

Recurring to the old portage at Chicago, it is evident that at a comparatively recent period, since the glacial epoch, a large part of Cook county was under water. The waters of Lake Michigan, at that time, found an outlet through the Desplaines and Illinois Rivers into the Mississippi.* This assertion is confirmed from the appearance of the whole channel of the Illinois River, which formerly contained a stream of much greater magnitude than now. The old beaches of Lake Michigan are plainly indicated in the ridges, trending westward several miles away from the present water line. The old state road, from Vincennes to Chicago, followed one of these ancient lake beaches from Blue Island into the city.

The subsidence of the lake must have been gradual, requiring many ages to accomplish the change of direction in the flow of its waters from the Mississippi to the St. Lawrence.

The character of the portage has also undergone changes within the memory of men still living. The excavation of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and the drainage of the adjacent land by artificial ditches, has left little remaining from which its former appearance can now be recognized. Major Stephen H. Long, of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, made an examination of this locality in the year 1823, before it had been changed by the hand of man, and says, concerning it, as follows: "The south fork of Chicago River takes its rise about six miles from the fort, in a swamp, which communicates also with the Desplaines, one of the head branches of the Illinois. Having been informed that this route was frequently used by traders, and that it had been traversed by one of the officers of the garrison,—who returned with provisions from St. Louis a few days before our arrival at the fort,—we determined to ascend the Chicago River in order to observe this interesting division of waters. We accordingly left the fort on the 7th day of June, in a boat which, after having ascended the river four miles, we exchanged for a narrow pirogue that drew less water,—the stream we were ascending was very narrow, rapid and crooked, presenting a great fall. It so continued for about three miles, when we reached a sort of a swamp, designated by the Canadian voyagers under the name of '*Le Petit Lac*.'† Our course through this swamp, which extended three miles, was very much impeded by the high grass, weeds, etc., through which our pirogue passed with difficulty. Observing that our progress through the fen was slow, and the day being considerably advanced, we landed on the north bank, and continued our course along the edge of the swamp for about three

* Geological Survey of Illinois, vol. 3, p. 240.

† What remains of this lake is now known by the name of *Mud Lake*.

miles, until we reached the place where the old portage road meets the current, which was here very distinct toward the south. We were delighted at beholding, for the first time, a feature so interesting in itself, but which we had afterward an opportunity of observing frequently on the route, viz, the division of waters starting from the same source, and running in two different directions, so as to become feeders of streams that discharge themselves into the ocean at immense distances apart. Lient. Hobson, who accompanied us to the Desplaines, told us that he had traveled it with ease, in a boat loaded with lead and flour. The distance from the fort to the intersection of the portage road is about twelve or thirteen miles, and the portage road is about eleven miles long; the usual distance traveled by land seldom exceeds from four to nine miles; however, in very dry seasons it is said to amount to thirty miles, as the portage then extends to Mount Juliet, near the confluence of the Kankakee. Although at the time we visited it there was scarcely water enough to permit our pirogue to pass, we could not doubt that in the spring of the year the route must be a very eligible one. It is equally apparent that an expenditure, trifling when compared to the importance of the object, would again render Lake Michigan a tributary of the Gulf of Mexico." *

* Long's Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's River, vol. 1, pp. 165, 166, 167. The State of Illinois begun work on the construction of a canal on this old portage on the 4th day of July, 1836, with great ceremony. Col. Guerdon S. Hubbard, still living, cast the first shovelful of earth out of it on this occasion. The work was completed in 1848. The canal was fed with water elevated by a pumping apparatus at Bridgeport. Recently the city of Chicago, at enormous expense sunk the bed of the canal to a depth that secures a flow of water directly from the lake, by means of which, the navigation is improved, and sewerage is obtained into the Illinois River.

CHAPTER III.

ANCIENT MAUMEE VALLEY.

WHAT has been said of the changes in the surface geology of Lake Michigan and the Illinois River may also be affirmed with respect to Lake Erie and the Maumee and Wabash Rivers. There are peculiarities which will arrest the attention, from a mere examination of the course of the Maumee and of the St. Joseph and St. Mary's Rivers, as they appear on the map of that part of Ohio and Indiana. The St. Joseph, after running southwest to its union with the St. Mary's at Ft. Wayne, as it were almost doubles back upon its former course, taking a northeast direction, forming the shape of a letter V, and after having flowed over two hundred miles is discharged at a point within less than fifty miles east of its source. It is evident, from an examination of that part of the country, that, at one time, the St. Joseph ran wholly to the southwest, and that the Maumee River itself, instead of flowing northeast into Lake Erie, as now, drained this lake southwest through the present valley of the Wabash. Then Lake Erie extended very nearly to Ft. Wayne, and its ancient shores are still plainly marked. The line of the old beach is preserved in the ridges running nearly parallel with, and not a great distance from, the St. Joseph and the St. Mary's Rivers. Professor G. K. Gilbert, in his report of the "Surface Geology of the Maumee Valley," gives the result of his examination of these interesting features, from which we take the following valuable extract.*

"The upper (lake) beach consists, in this region, of a single bold ridge of sand, pursuing a remarkably straight course in a northeast and southwest direction, and crossing portions of Defiance, Williams and Fulton counties. It passes just west of Hicksville and Bryan; while Williams Center, West Unity and Fayette are built on it. When Lake Erie stood at this level, it was merged at the north with Lake Huron. Its southwest shore crossed Hancock, Putnam, Allen and Van Wert counties, and stretched northwest in Indiana, nearly to Ft. Wayne. The northwestern shore line, leaving Ohio near the south line of Defiance county, is likewise continued in Indiana, and the two converge at New Haven, six miles east of Ft. Wayne. They do not,

* Geological Survey of Ohio, vol. 1, p. 550.

however, unite, but, instead, become parallel, and are continued as the sides of a broad watercourse, through which the great lake basin then discharged its surplus waters, southwestwardly, into the valley of the Wabash River, and thence to the Mississippi. At New Haven, this channel is not less than a mile and a half broad, and has an average depth of twenty feet, with sides and bottom of drift. For twenty-five miles this character continues, and there is no notable fall. Three miles above Huntington, Indiana, however, the drift bottom is replaced by a floor of Niagara limestone, and the descent becomes comparatively quite rapid. At Huntington, the valley is walled, on one side at least, by rock *in situ*. In the eastern portion of this ancient river-bed, the Maumee and its branches have cut channels fifteen to twenty-five feet deep, without meeting the underlying limestone. Most of the interval from Ft. Wayne to Huntington is occupied by a marsh, over which meanders Little River, an insignificant stream whose only claim to the title of river seems to lie in the magnitude of the deserted channel of which it is sole occupant. At Huntington, the Wabash emerges from a narrow cleft, of its own carving, and takes possession of the broad trough to which it was once an humble tributary."

Within the personal knowledge of men, the Wabash River has been, and is, only a rivulet, a shriveled, dried up representative in comparison with its greatness in pre-historic times, when it bore in a broader channel the waters of Lakes Erie and Huron, a mighty flood, southward to the Ohio. Whether the change in the direction of the flow of Lakes Erie, Huron and Michigan toward the River St. Lawrence, instead of through the Wabash and Illinois Rivers respectively, is because hemispheric depression has taken place more rapidly in the vicinity of the lakes than farther southward, or that the earth's crust south of the lakes has been arched upward by subterraneous influences, and thus caused the lakes to recede, or if the change has been produced by depression in one direction and elevation in the other, combined, is not our province to discuss. The fact, however, is well established by the most abundant and conclusive evidence to the scientific observer.

The portage, or carrying place, of the Wabash,* as known to the early explorers and traders, between the Maumee and Wabash, or rather the head of Little River, called by the French "La Petit Rivière," commenced directly at Ft. Wayne; although, in certain seasons of the year, the waters approach much nearer and were united by a low piece

* Schoolcraft's Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley," in the year 1821, pp. 90, 91. In this year, Mr. Schoolcraft made an examination of the locality, with a view to furnish the public information on the practicability of a canal to unite the waters of the Maumee and the Wabash. It was at a time when great interest existed through all parts of the country on all subjects of internal navigation.

of ground or marsh (an arm or bay of what is now called Bear Lake), where the two streams flow within one hundred and fifty yards of each other and admitted of the passage of light canoes from the one to the other.

The Miami Indians knew the value of this portage, and it was a source of revenue to them, aside from its advantages in enabling them to exercise an influence over adjacent tribes. The French, in passing from Canada to New Orleans, and Indian traders going from Montreal and Detroit, to the Indians south and westward, went and returned by way of Ft. Wayne, where the Miamis, kept carts and pack-horses, with a corps of Indians to assist in carrying canoes, furs and merchandise around the portage, for which they charged a commission. At the great treaty of Greenville, 1795, where General Anthony Wayne met the several Wabash tribes, he insisted, as one of the fruits of his victory over them, at the Fallen Timbers, on the Maumee, the year before, that they should cede to the United States a piece of ground six miles square, where the fort, named in honor of General Wayne, had been erected after the battle named, and on the site of the present city of Ft. Wayne; and, also, a piece of territory two miles square at the carrying place. The distinguished warrior and statesman, "Mishe-kun-nogh-quah" (as he signs his name at this treaty), or the Little Turtle on behalf of his tribe, objected to a relinquishment of their right to their ancient village and its portage, and in his speech to General Wayne said: "Elder Brother,—When our forefathers saw the French and English at the Miami village—that '*glorious gate*' which your younger brothers [meaning the Miamis] had the happiness to own, and through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass [that is, messages between the several tribes] from north to south and from east to west, the French and English never told us they wished to purchase our lands from us. The next place you pointed out was the Little River, and said you wanted two miles square of that place. This is a request that our fathers the French or British never made of us; it was always ours. This carrying place has heretofore proved, in a great degree, the subsistence of your brothers. That place has brought to us, in the course of one day, the amount of one hundred dollars. Let us both own this place and enjoy in common the advantages it affords." The Little Turtle's speech availed nothing.*

The St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, a fine stream of uniform, rapid current, reaches its most southerly position near the city of South Bend, Indiana,—the city deriving its name from the *bend* of the river;

* Minutes of the Treaty of Greenville: American State Papers on Indian Affairs. vol. 1, pp. 576, 578.

here the river turns northward, reënters the State of Michigan and discharges into the lake. West of the city is Lake Kankakee, from which the Kankakee River takes its rise. The distance intervening between the head of this little lake and the St. Joseph is about two miles, over a piece of marshy ground, where the elevation is so slight "that in the year 1832 a Mr. Alexander Croquillard dug a race, and secured a flow of water from the lake to the St. Joseph, of sufficient power to run a grist and saw mill." *

This is the portage of the Kankakee, a place conspicuous for its historical reminiscences. It was much used, and offered a choice of routes to the Illinois River, and also to the Wabash, by a longer land-carriage to the upper waters of the Tippecanoe. A memoir on the Indians of Canada, etc., prepared in the year 1718 (Paris Documents, vol. 1, p. 889), says: "The river St. Joseph is south of Lake Michigan, formerly the Lake of the Illinois; many take this river to pass to the Rocks [as Fort St. Louis, situated on 'Starved Rock' in La Salle county, Illinois, was sometimes called], because it is convenient, and they thereby avoid the portages '*des Chaines*' and '*des Perches*,'"—two long, difficult carrying places on the Desplaines, which had to be encountered in dry seasons, on the route by the way of Chicago Creek.

The following description of the Kankakee portage, and its adjacent surroundings, is as that locality appeared to Father Hennepin, when he was there with La Salle's party of voyagers two hundred years ago the coming December: "The next morning (December 5, 1679) we joined our men at the portage, where Father Gabriel had made the day before several crosses upon the trees, that we might not miss it another time." The voyagers had passed above the portage without being aware of it, as the country was all strange to them. We found here a great quantity of horns and bones of wild oxen, buffalo, and also some canoes the savages had made with the skins of beasts, to cross the river with their provisions. This portage lies at the farther end of a champaign; and at the other end to the west lies a village of savages,—Miami, Mascoutines and Ojatinons (Weas), who live together. "The river of the Illinois has its source near that village, and springs out of some marshy lands that are so quaking that one can scarcely walk over them. The head of the river is only a league and a half from that of the Miami (the St. Joseph), and so our portage was not long. We marked the way from place to place, with some trees, for the convenience of those we expected after us; and left at the portage as well as at Fort

* Prof. G. M. Levette's Report on the Geology of St. Joseph County: Geological Survey of Indiana for the year 1873, p. 459.

Miamis (which they had previously erected at the mouth of the St. Joseph), letters hanging down from the trees, containing M. La Salle's instructions to our pilot, and the other five-and-twenty men who were to come with him." The pilot had been sent back from Mackinaw with La Salle's ship, the Griffin, loaded with furs; was to discharge the cargo at the fort below the mouth of Niagara River, and then bring the ship with all dispatch to the St. Joseph.

"The Illinois River (continues Hennepin's account) is navigable within a hundred paces from its source,—I mean for canoes of barks of trees, and not for others,—but increases so much a little way from thence, that it is as deep and broad as the Meuse and the Sambre joined together. It runs through vast marshes, and although it be rapid enough, it makes so many turnings and windings, that after a whole day's journey we found that we were hardly two leagues from the place we left in the morning. That country is nothing but marshes, full of alder trees and bushes; and we could have hardly found, for forty leagues together, any place to plant our cabins, had it not been for the frost, which made the earth more firm and consistent."

CHAPTER IV.

RAINFALL.

AN interesting topic connected with our rivers is the question of rainfall. The streams of the west, unlike those of mountainous districts, which are fed largely by springs and brooks issuing from the rocks, are supplied mostly from the clouds. It is within the observation of persons who lived long in the valleys of the Wabash and Illinois, or along their tributaries, that these streams apparently carry a less volume of water than formerly. Indeed, the water-courses seem to be gradually drying up, and the whole surface of the country drained by them has undergone the same change. In early days almost every land-owner on the prairies had upon his farm a pond that furnished an unfailing supply of water for his live stock the year around. These never went dry, even in the driest seasons.

Formerly the Wabash afforded reliable steamboat navigation as high up as La Fayette. In 1831, between the 5th of March and the 16th of April, fifty-four steamboats arrived and departed from Vincennes. In the months of February, March and April of the same year, there were sixty arrivals and departures from La Fayette, then a village of only three or four hundred houses; many of these boats were large side-wheel steamers, built for navigating the Ohio and Mississippi, and known as New Orleans or lower river boats.* The writer has the concurrent evidence of scores of early settlers with whom he has conversed that formerly the Vermilion, at Danville, had to be ferried on an average six months during the year, and the river was considered low when it could be forded at this place without water running into the wagon bed. Now it is fordable at all times, except when swollen with freshets, which now subside in a very few days, and often within as many hours. Doubtless, the same facts can be affirmed of the many other tributaries of the Illinois and Wabash whose names have been already given.

The early statutes of Illinois and Indiana are replete with special laws, passed between the years 1825 and 1840, when the people of these two states were crazed over the question of internal navigation, providing enactments and charters for the slack-water improvement of

* Tanner's View of the Mississippi, published in 1832, p. 154.

hundreds of streams whose insignificance have now only a dry bed, most of the year, to indicate that they were ever dignified with such legislation and invested with the promise of bearing upon their bosoms a portion of the future internal commerce of the country.

It will not do to assume that the seeming decrease of water in the streams is caused by a diminution of rain. The probabilities are that the annual rainfall is greater in Indiana and Illinois than before their settlement with a permanent population. The "settling up" of a country, tilling its soil, planting trees, constructing railroads, and erecting telegraph lines, all tend to induce moisture and produce changes in the electric and atmospheric currents that invite the clouds to precipitate their showers. Such has been the effect produced by the hand of man upon the hitherto arid plains of Kansas and Nebraska. Indeed, at an early day some portions of Illinois were considered as uninhabitable as western Kansas and Nebraska were supposed, a few years ago, to be on account of the prevailing drouths. That part of the state lying between the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers, south of a line running from the Mississippi, between Rock Island and Mercer counties, east to the Illinois, set off for the benefit of the soldiers of the War of 1812, and for that reason called the "Military Tract," except that part of it lying more immediately near the rivers named, was laid under the bane of a drouth-stricken region. Mr. Lewis A. Beck, a shrewd and impartial observer, and a gentleman of great scientific attainments,* was through the "military tract" shortly after it had been run out into sections and townships by the government, and says concerning it, "The northern part of the tract is not so favorable for settlement. The prairies become very extensive and are badly watered. In fact, this last is an objection to the whole tract. In dry seasons it is not unusual to walk through beds of the largest streams without finding a drop of water. It is not surprising that a country so far distant from the sea and drained by such large rivers, which have a course of several thousand miles before they reach the great reservoir, should not be well watered. This, we observe, is the case with all fine-flowing streams of the highlands, whereas those of the Champaign and prairies settle in the form of ponds, which stagnate and putrify. Besides, on the same account there are very few heavy rains in the summer; and hence during that season water is exceedingly scarce. The Indians, in their journeys, pass by places where they know there are ponds, but generally they are under the necessity of carrying water in bladders. This drouth is not confined to the 'military tract,' but in some seasons is very general. During the summer of 1820 it was truly alarming;

* Beck's Illinois and Missouri Gazetteer, published in 1823, pp. 79, 80.

travelers, in many instances, were obliged to pass whole days, in the warmest weather, without being able to procure a cupful of water for themselves or their horses, and that which they occasionally did find was almost putrid. It may be remarked, however, that such seasons rarely occur; but on account of its being washed by rivers of such immense length this section of the country is peculiarly liable to suffer from excessive drouth." The millions of bushels of grain annually raised in, and the vast herds of cattle and other live stock that are fattened on, the rich pastures of Bureau, Henry, Stark, Peoria, Knox, Warren, and other counties lying wholly or partially within the "military tract," illustrate an increase and uniformity of rainfall since the time Professor Beck recorded his observations. In no part of Illinois are the crops more abundant and certain, and less liable to suffer from excessive drouth, than in the "military tract." The apparent decrease in the volume of water carried by the Wabash and its tributaries is easily reconciled with the theory of an increased rainfall since the settlement of the country. These streams for the most part have their sources in ponds, marshes and low grounds. These basins, covering a great extent of the surface of the country, served as reservoirs; the earth was covered with a thick turf that prevented the water penetrating the ground; tall grasses in the valleys and about the margin of the ponds impeded the flow of water, and fed it out gradually to the rivers. In the timber the marshes were likewise protected from a rapid discharge of their contents by the trunks of fallen trees, limbs and leaves.

Since the lands have been reduced to cultivation, millions of acres of sod have been broken by the plow, a spongy surface has been turned to the heavens and much of the rainfall is at once soaked into the ground. The ponds and low grounds have been drained. The tall grasses with their mat of penetrating roots have disappeared from the swales. The brooks and drains, from causes partially natural, or artificially aided by man, have cut through the ancient turf and made well defined ditches. The rivers themselves have worn a deeper passage in their beds. By these means the water is now soon collected from the earth's surface and carried off with increased velocity. Formerly the streams would sustain their volume continuously for weeks. Hence much of the rainfall is directly taken into the ground, and only a portion of it now finds its way to the rivers, and that which does has a speedier exit. Besides this, settlement of and particularly the growing of trees on the prairies and the clearing out of the excess of forests in the timbered districts, tends to distribute the rainfall more evenly throughout the year, and in a large degree prevents the recurrence of those extremes of drouth and flood with which this country was formerly visited.

CHAPTER V.

ORIGIN OF THE PRAIRIES.

THE prairies have ever been a wonder, and their origin the theme of much curious speculation. The vast extent of these natural meadows would naturally excite curiosity, and invite the many theories which, from time to time, have been advanced by writers holding conflicting opinions as to the manner in which they were formed. Major Stoddard, H. M. Brackenridge and Governor Reynolds, whose personal acquaintance with the prairies, eastward of the Mississippi, extended back prior to the year 1800, and whose observations were supported by the experience of other contemporaneous residents of the west, held that the prairies were caused by fire. The prairies are covered with grass, and were probably occasioned by the ravages of fire; because wherever copses of trees were found on them, the grounds about them are low and too moist to admit the fire to pass over it; and because it is a common practice among the Indians and other hunters to set the woods and prairies on fire, by means of which they are able to kill an abundance of game. They take secure stations to the leeward, and the fire drives the game to them.*

The plains of Indiana and Illinois have been mostly produced by the same cause. They are very different from the Savannahs on the seaboard and the immense plains of the upper Missouri. In the prairies of Indiana I have been assured that the woods in places have been known to recede, and in others to increase, within the recollection of the old inhabitants. In moist places, the woods are still standing, the fire meeting here with obstruction. Trees, if planted in these prairies, would doubtless grow. In the islands, preserved by accidental causes, the progress of the fire can be traced; the first burning would only scorch the outer bark of the tree; this would render it more susceptible to the next, the third would completely kill. I have seen in places, at present completely prairie, pieces of burnt trees, proving that the prairie had been caused by fire. The grass is generally very luxuriant, which is not the case in the plains of the Missouri. There may, doubtless, be spots where the proportion of salts or other bodies may be such as to favor the growth of grass only.†

* Sketches of Louisiana, by Major Amos Stoddard, p. 213.

† Brackenridge's Views of Louisiana, p. 108.

Governor Reynolds, who came to Illinois at the age of thirteen, in the year 1800, and lived here for over sixty years, the greater portion of his time employed in a public capacity, roving over the prairies in the Indian border wars or overseeing the affairs of a public and busy life, in his interesting autobiography, published in 1855, says: "Many learned essays are written on the origin of the prairies, but any attentive observer will come to the conclusion that it is fire burning the strong, high grass that caused the prairies. I have witnessed the growth of the forest in these southern counties of Illinois, and know there is more timber in them now than there was forty or fifty years before. The obvious reason is, the fire is kept out. This is likewise the reason the prairies are generally the most fertile soil. The vegetation in them was the strongest and the fires there burnt with the most power. The timber was destroyed more rapidly in the fertile soil than in the barren lands. It will be seen that the timber in the north of the state, is found only on the margins of streams and other places where the prairie fires could not reach it."

The later and more satisfactory theory is, that the prairies were formed by the action of water instead of fire. This position was taken and very ably discussed by that able and learned writer, Judge James Hall, as early as 1836. More recently, Prof. Lesquereux prepared an article on the origin and formation of the prairies, published at length in vol. 1, Geological Survey of Illinois, pp. 238 to 254, inclusive; and Dr. Worthen, the head of the Illinois Geological Department, referring to this article and its author, gives to both a most flattering indorsement. Declining to discuss the comparative merits of the various theories as to the formation of the prairies, the doctor "refers the reader to the very able chapter on the subject by Prof. Lesquereux, whose thorough acquaintance, both with fossil and recent botany, and the general laws which govern the distribution of the ancient as well as the recent flora, entitles his opinion to our most profound consideration." *

Prof. Lesquereux' article is exhaustive, and his conclusions are summed up in the declaration "that all the prairies of the Mississippi Valley have been formed by the slow recessions of waters of various extent; first transformed into swamps, and in the process of time drained and dried; and that the high rolling prairies, and those of these bottoms along the rivers as well, are all the result of the same cause, and form one whole, indivisible system."

Still later, another eminent writer, Hon. John D. Caton, late Judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, has given the result of his observa-

* Chap. 1, p. 10, Geology of Illinois, by Dr. Worthen; vol. 1, Illinois Geological Survey.

tions. While assenting to the received conclusion that the prairies—the land itself—have been formed under water, except the decomposed animal and vegetable matter that has been added to the surface of the lands since their emergence, the judge dissents from Prof. Lesquereux, in so far as the latter holds that the presence of ulmic acid and other unfavorable chemicals in the soil of the prairies, rendered them unfit for the growth of trees; and in extending his theory to the prairies on the uplands, as well as in their more level and marshy portions. The learned judge holds to the popular theory that the most potent cause in keeping the prairies as such, and retarding and often destroying forest growth on them, is the agency of fire. Whatever may have been the condition of the ground when the prairie lands first emerged from the waters, or the chemical changes they may have since undergone, how many years the process of vegetable growth and decay may have gone on, adding their deposits of rich loam to the original surface, making the soil the most fertile in the world, is a matter of mere speculation; certain it is, however, that ever within the knowledge of man the prairies have possessed every element of soil necessary to insure a rapid and vigorous growth of forest trees, wherever the germ could find a lodgment and their tender years be protected against the one formidable enemy, fire. Judge Caton gives the experience of old settlers in the northern part of the state, similar to that of Brackenridge and Reynolds, already quoted, where, on the Vermillion River of the Illinois, and also in the neighborhood of Ottawa many years ago, fires occurred under the observation of the narrators, which utterly destroyed, root and branch, an entire hardwood forest, the prairie taking immediate possession of the burnt district, clothing it with grasses of its own; and in a few years this forest land, reclaimed to prairie, could not be distinguished from the prairie itself, except from its greater luxuriance.

Judge Caton's illustration of how the forests obtain a foot-hold in the prairies is so aptly expressed, and in such harmony with the experience of every old settler on the prairies of eastern Illinois and western Indiana, that we quote it.

"The cause of the absence of trees on the upland prairies is the problem most important to the agricultural interests of our state, and it is the inquiry which alone I propose to consider, but cannot resist the remark that wherever we do find timber throughout this broad field of prairie, it is always in or near the humid portions of it,—as along the margins of streams, or upon or near the springy uplands. Many most luxuriant groves are found on the highest portions of the uplands, but always in the neighborhood of water. For a remarkable

example I may refer to that great chain of groves extending from and including the Au Sable Grove on the east and Holderman's Grove on the west, in Kendall county, occupying the high divide between the waters of the Illinois and the Fox Rivers. In and around all the groves flowing springs abound, and some of them are separated by marshes, to the very borders of which the great trees approach, as if the forest were ready to seize upon each yard of ground as soon as it is elevated above the swamps. Indeed, all our groves seem to be located where water is so disposed as to protect them, to a great or less extent, from the prairie fire, although not so situated as to irrigate them. If the head-waters of the streams on the prairies are most frequently without timber, so soon as they have attained sufficient volume to impede the progress of the fires, with very few exceptions we find forests on their borders, becoming broader and more vigorous as the magnitude of the streams increase. It is manifest that land located on the borders of streams which the fire cannot pass are only exposed to *one-half* the fires to which they would be exposed but for such protection. This tends to show, at least, that if but one-half the fires that have occurred had been kindled, the arboraceous growth could have withstood their destructive influences, and the whole surface of what is now prairie would be forest. Another confirmatory fact, patent to all observers, is, that the prevailing winds upon the prairies, especially in the autumn, are from the *west*, and these give direction to the prairie fires. Consequently, the lands on the westerly sides of the streams are the most exposed to the fires, and, as might be expected, we find much the most timber on the *easterly* sides of the streams."

"Another fact, always a subject of remark among the dwellers on the prairies, I regard as conclusive proof that the prairie soils are peculiarly adapted to the growth of trees is, that wherever the fires have been kept from the groves by the settlers, they have rapidly encroached upon the prairies, unless closely depastured by the farmers' stock, or prevented by cultivation. This fact I regard as established by careful observation of more than thirty-five years, during which I have been an interested witness of the settlement of this country,—from the time when a few log cabins, many miles apart, built in the borders of the groves, alone were met with, till now nearly the whole of the great prairies in our state, at least, are brought under cultivation by the industry of the husbandman. Indeed, this is a fact as well recognized by the settlers as that corn will grow upon the prairies when properly cultivated. Ten years ago I heard the observation made by intelligent men, that within the preceding twenty-five years the area of the timber in the prairie portions of the state had actually doubled by the sponta-

neous extension of the natural groves. However this may be, certain it is that the encroachments of the timber upon the prairies have been universal and rapid, wherever not impeded by fire or other physical causes."

When Europeans first landed in America, as they left the dense forests east of the Alleghanies and went west over the mountains into the valleys beyond, anywhere between Lake Erie and the fortieth degree of latitude, approaching the Scioto River, they would have seen small patches of country destitute of timber. These were called openings. As they proceeded farther toward the Wabash the number and area of these openings or barrens would increase. These last were called by the English savannahs or meadows, and by the French, prairies. Westward of the Wabash, except occasional tracts of timbered lands in northern Indiana, and fringes of forest growth along the intervening water-courses, the prairies stretch westward continuously across a part of Indiana and the whole of Illinois to the Mississippi. Taking the line of the Wabash railway, which crosses Illinois in its greatest breadth, and beginning in Indiana, where the railway leaves the timber, west of the Wabash near Marshfield, the prairie extends to Quincy, a distance of more than two hundred and fifty miles, and its continuity the entire way is only broken by four strips of timber along four streams running at right angles with the route of the railway, namely the timber on the Vermillion River, between Danville and the Indiana state-line, the Sangamon, seventy miles west of Danville near Decatur, the Sangamon again a few miles east of Springfield, and the Illinois River at Meredosia; and all of the timber at the crossing of these several streams, if put together, would not aggregate fifteen miles against the two hundred and fifty miles of prairie. Taking a north and south direction and parallel with the drainage of the rivers, one could start near Ashley, on the Illinois Central railway, in Washington county, and going northward, nearly on an air-line, keeping on the divide between the Kaskaskia and Little Wabash, the Sangamon and the Vermillion, the Iroquois and the Vermillion of the Illinois, crossing the latter stream between the mouths of the Fox and Du Page and travel through to the state of Wisconsin, a distance of nearly three hundred miles, without encountering five miles of timber during the whole journey. Mere figures of distances across the "Grand Prairie," as this vast meadow was called by the old settlers, fail to give an adequate idea of its magnitude.

Let the reader, in fancy, go back fifty or sixty years, when there were no farms between the settlement on the North Arm Prairie, in Edgar county, and Ft. Clark, now Peoria, on the Illinois River, or

between the Salt Works, west of Danville, and Ft. Dearborn, where Chicago now is, or when there was not a house between the Wabash and Illinois Rivers in the direction of La Fayette and Ottawa; when there was not a solitary road to mark the way; when Indian trails alone led to unknown places, where no animals except the wild deer and slinking wolf would stare, the one with timid wonder, the other with treacherous leer, upon the venturesome traveler; when the gentle winds moved the supple grasses like waves of a green sea under the summer's sky;—the beauty, the grandeur and solitude of the prairies may be *imagined* as they were a *reality* to the pioneer when he first beheld them.

There is an essential difference between the prairies eastward of the Mississippi and the great plains westward necessary to be borne in mind. The western plains, while they present a seeming level appearance to the eye, rise rapidly to the westward. From Kansas City to Pueblo the ascent is continuous; beyond Ft. Dodge, the plains, owing to their elevation and consequent dryness of the atmosphere and absence of rainfall, produce a thin and stunted vegetation. The prairies of Illinois and Indiana, on the contrary, are much nearer the sea-level, where the moisture is greater. There were many ponds and sloughs which aided in producing a humid atmosphere, all which induced a rank growth of grasses. All early writers, referring to the vegetation of our prairies, including Fathers Hennepin, St. Cosme, Charlevoix and others, who recorded their personal observations nearly two hundred years ago, as well as later English and American travelers, bear uniform testimony to the fact of an unusually luxuriant growth of grasses.

Early settlers, in the neighborhood of the author, all bear witness to the rank growth of vegetation on the prairies before it was grazed by live stock, and supplanted with shorter grasses, that set in as the country improved. Since the organization of Edgar county in 1823,—of which all the territory north to the Wisconsin line was then a part,—on the level prairie between the present sites of Danville and Georgetown, the grass grew so high that it was a source of amusement to tie the tops over the withers of a horse, and in places the height of the grass would nearly obscure both horse and rider from view. This was not a slough, but on arable land, where some of the first farms in Vermillion county were broken out. On the high rolling prairies the vegetation was very much shorter, though thick and compact; its average height being about two feet.

The prairie fires have been represented in exaggerated pictures of men and wild animals retreating at full speed, with every mark of ter-

ror, before the devouring element. Such pictures are overdrawn. Instances of loss of human life, or animals, may have sometimes occurred. The advance of the fire is rapid or slow, as the wind may be strong or light; the flames leaping high in the air in their progress over level ground, or burning lower over the uplands. When a fire starts under favorable causes, the horizon gleams brighter and brighter until a fiery redness rises above its dark outline, while heavy, slow-moving masses of dark clouds curve upward above it. In another moment the blaze itself shoots up, first at one spot then at another, advancing until the whole horizon extending across a wide prairie is clothed with flames, that roll and curve and dash onward and upward like waves of a burning ocean, lighting up the landscape with the brilliancy of noon-day. A roaring, crackling sound is heard like the rushing of a hurricane. The flame, which in general rises to the height of twenty feet, is seen rolling its waves against each other as the liquid, fiery mass moves forward, leaving behind it a blackened surface on the ground, and long trails of murky smoke floating above. A more terrific sight than the burning prairies in early days can scarcely be conceived. Woe to the farmer whose fields extended into the prairie, and who had suffered the tall grass to grow near his fences; the labor of the year would be swept away in a few hours. Such accidents occasionally occurred, although the preventive was simple. The usual remedy was to set fire against fire, or to burn off a strip of grass in the vicinity of the improved ground, a beaten road, the treading of domestic animals about the inclosure of the farmer, would generally afford protection. In other cases a few furrows would be plowed around the field, or the grass closely mowed between the outside of the fence and the open prairie.*

No wonder that the Indians, noted for their naming a place or thing from some of its distinctive peculiarities, should have called the prairies *Mas-ko-tia*, or the place of fire. In the ancient Algonquin tongue, as well as in its more modern form of the Ojibbeway (or Chippeway, as this people are improperly designated), the word *scoutay* means fire; and in the Illinois and Pottowatamie, kindred dialects, it is *scotte* and *seutay*, respectively.† It is also eminently characteristic that the Indians, who lived and hunted exclusively upon the prairies, were known among their red brethren as “Maskoutes,” rendered by the French writers, *Maskoutines*, or *People of the Fire or Prairie Country*.

North of a line drawn west from Vincennes, Illinois is wholly

* Judge James Hall: *Tales of the Border*, p. 244; *Statistics of the West*, p. 82.

† Gallatin's *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes*, etc.

prairie,—always excepting the thin curtain of timber draping the water-courses; and all that part of Indiana lying north and west of the Wabash, embracing fully one-third of the area of the state, is essentially so.

Of the twenty-seven counties in Indiana, lying wholly or partially west and north of the Wabash, twelve of them are prairie; seven are mixed prairies, barrens and timber, the barrens and prairie predominating. In five, the barrens, with the prairies, are nearly equal to the timber, while only three of the counties can be characterized as heavily timbered. And wherever timber does occur in these twenty-seven counties, it is found in localities favorable to its protection against the ravages of fire, by the proximity of intervening lakes, marshes or water-courses. We cannot know how long it took the forest to advance from the Scioto; how often capes and points of trees, like skirmishers of an army, secured a foothold to the eastward of the lakes and rivers of Ohio and Indiana, only to be driven back again by the prairie fires advancing from the opposite direction; or conceive how many generations of forest growth were consumed by the prairie fires before the timber-line was pushed westward across the state of Ohio, and through Indiana to the banks of the Wabash.

The prairies of Illinois and Indiana were born of water and preserved by fire for the children of civilized men, who have come and taken possession of them. The manner of their coming, and the difficulties that befell them on the way, will hereafter be considered. The white man, like the forests, advanced from the east. The red man, like the prairie fires, as we shall hereafter see, came from the west.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY DISCOVERIES.

HAVING given a description of the lakes and rivers, and noticed some of the more prominent features that characterize the physical geography of the territory within the scope of our inquiry, and the parts necessarily connected with it, forming, as it were, the outlines or ground plan of its history, we will now proceed to fill in the framework, with a narration of its discovery. Jacques Cartier, as already intimated in a note on a preceding page, ascended the St. Lawrence River in 1535. He sailed up the stream as far as the great Indian village of Hoc Lelaga, situated on an island at the foot of the mountain, styled by him Mont Royal, now called Montreal, a name since extended to the whole island. The country thus discovered was called New France. Later, and in the year 1598, France, after fifty years of domestic troubles, recovered her tranquillity, and, finding herself once more equal to great enterprises, acquired a taste for colonization. Her attention was directed to her possessions, by right of discovery, in the new world, where she now wished to establish colonies and extend the faith of the Catholic religion. Commissions or grants were accordingly issued to companies of merchants, and others organized for this purpose, who undertook to make settlements in Acadia, as Nova Scotia was then called, and elsewhere along the lower waters of the St. Lawrence; and, at a later day, like efforts were made higher up the river. In 1607 Mr. De Monts, having failed in a former enterprise, was deprived of his commission, which was restored to him on the condition that he would make a settlement on the St. Lawrence. The company he represented seems to have had the fur trade only in view, and this object caused it to change its plans and avoid Acadia altogether. De Monts' company increased in numbers and capital in proportion as the fur trade developed expectations of profit, and many persons at St. Malo, particularly, gave it their support. Feeling that his name injured his associates, M. De Monts retired; and when he ceased to be its governing head, the company of merchants recovered the monopoly with which the charter was endowed, for no other object than making money out of the fur trade. They cared nothing whatever for the colony in Acadia, which was dying out, and made no settlements else-

where. However, Mr. Samuel Champlain, who cared little for the fur trade, and whose thoughts were those of a patriot, after maturely examining where the settlements directed by the court might be best established, at last fixed on Quebec. He arrived there on the 3d of July, 1608, put up some temporary buildings for himself and company, and began to clear off the ground, which proved fertile.*

The colony at Quebec grew apace with emigrants from France; and later, the establishment of a settlement at the island of Montreal was undertaken. Two religious enthusiasts, the one named Jerome le Royer de la Dauversiere, of Anjou, and the other John James Olier, assumed the undertaking in 1636. The next who joined in the movement was Peter Chevirer, Baron Fancamp, who in 1640 sent tools and provisions for the use of the coming settlers. The projectors were now aided by the celebrated Baron de Renty, and two others. Father Charles Lalemant induced John de Lauson, the proprietor of the island of Montreal, to cede it to these gentlemen, which he did in August, 1640; and to remove all doubts as to the title, the associates obtained a grant from the New France Company, in December of the same year, which was subsequently ratified by the king himself. The associates agreed to send out forty settlers, to clear and cultivate the ground; to increase the number annually; to supply them with two sloops, cattle and farm hands, and, after five years, to erect a seminary, maintain ecclesiastics as missionaries and teachers, and also nuns as teachers and hospitalers. On its part the New France Company agreed to transport thirty settlers. The associates then contributed twenty-five thousand crowns to begin the settlement, and Mr. de Maisonneuve embarked with his colony on three vessels, which sailed from Rochelle and Dieppe, in the summer of 1641. The colony wintered in Quebec, spending their time in building boats and preparing timber for their houses; and on the 8th of May, 1642, embarked, and arrived nine days after at the island of Montreal, and after saying mass began an intrenchment around their tents.†

Notwithstanding the severity of the climate, the loss of life by diseases incident to settling of new countries, and more especially the

* History of New France.

† From Dr. Shea's valuable note on Montreal, on pages 129 and 130, vol. 2, of his translation of Father Charlevoix' History of New France. Mr. Albach, publisher of "Annals of the West," Pittsburgh edition, 1857, p. 49, is in error in saying that Montreal was founded in 1613, by Samuel Champlain. Champlain, in company with a young Huron Indian, whom he had taken to and brought back from France on a previous voyage, visited the island of Montreal in 1611, and chose it as a place for a settlement he designed to establish, but which he did not begin, as he was obliged to return to France; *vide* Charlevoix' "History of New France," vol. 2, p. 23. The American Cyclopaedia, as well as other authorities, concur with Dr. Shea, that Montreal was founded in 1642, seven years after Champlain's death.

destruction of its people from raids of the dreaded Iroquois Indians, the French colonies grew until, according to a report of Governor Mons. Denonville to the Minister at Paris, the population of Canada, in 1686, had increased to 12,373 souls. Quebec and Montreal became the base of operations of the French in America; the places from which missionaries, traders and explorers went out among the savages into countries hitherto unknown, going northward and westward, even beyond the extremity of Lake Superior to the upper waters of the Mississippi, and southward to the Gulf of Mexico; and it was from these cities that the religious, military and commercial affairs of this widely extended region were administered, and from which the French settlements subsequently established in the northwest and at New Orleans were principally recruited. The influence of Quebec and Montreal did not end with the fall of French power in America. It was from these cities that the English retained control of the fur trade in, and exerted a power over the Indian tribes of, the northwest that harassed and retarded the spread of the American settlements through all the revolutionary war, and during the later contest between Great Britain and the United States in the war of 1812. Indeed, it was only until after the fur trade was exhausted and the Indians placed beyond the Mississippi, subsequent to 1820, that Quebec and Montreal ceased to exert an influence in that part of New France now known as Illinois and Indiana.

Father Claude Allouez, coasting westward from Sault Ste. Marie, reached Chegoimegon, as the Indians called the bay south of the Apostle Islands and near La Pointe on the southwestern shore of Lake Superior, in October, 1665. Here he found ten or twelve fragments of Algonquin tribes assembled and about to hang the war kettle over the fire preparatory for an incursion westward into the territory of the Sioux. The good father persuaded them to give up their intended hostile expedition. He set up in their midst a chapel, to which he gave the name of the "Mission of the Holy Ghost," at the spot afterward known as "Lapointe du Saint Esprit," and at once began his mission work. His chapel was an object of wonder, and its establishment soon spread among the wild children of the forest, and thither from great distances came numbers all alive with curiosity,—the roving Pottawatomies, Sacs and Foxes, the Kickapoos, the Illinois and Miamis,—to whom the truths of christianity were announced.*

Three years later Father James Marquette took the place of Allouez, and while here he seems to have been the first that learned of the Mississippi. In a letter written from this mission by Father Marquette to

* Shea's History of Catholic Missions, 358.

his Reverend Father Superior, preserved in the Relations for 1669 and 1670, he says: "When the Illinois come to the point they pass a great river, which is almost a league in width. It flows from north to south, and to so great a distance that the Illinois, who know nothing of the use of the canoe, have never as yet heard tell of the mouth; they only know that there are great nations below them, some of whom, dwelling to the east-southeast of their country, gather their Indian-corn twice a year. A nation that they call Chaouanon (Shawnees) came to visit them during the past summer; the young man that has been given to me to teach me the language has seen them; they were loaded with glass beads, which shows that they have communication with the Europeans. They had to journey across the land for more than thirty days before arriving at their country. It is hardly probable that this great river discharges itself in Virginia. We are more inclined to believe that it has its mouth in California. If the savages, who have promised to make me a canoe, do not fail in their word, we will navigate this river as far as is possible in company with a Frenchman and this young man that they have given me, who understands several of these languages and possesses great facility for acquiring others. We shall visit the nations who dwell along its shores, in order to open the way to many of our fathers who for a long time have awaited this happiness. This discovery will give us a perfect knowledge of the sea either to the south or to the west."

These reports concerning the great river came to the knowledge of the authorities at Quebec and Paris, and naturally enough stimulated further inquiry. There were three theories as to where the river emptied; one, that it discharged into the Atlantic south of the British colony of Virginia; second, that it flowed into the Gulf of Mexico; and third, which was the more popular belief, that it emptied into the Red Sea, as the Gulf of California was called; and if the latter, that it would afford a passage to China. To solve this important commercial problem in geography, it was determined, as appears from a letter from the Governor, Count Frontenac, at Quebec, to M. Colbert, Minister of the navy at Paris, expedient "for the service to send *Sieur Joliet* to the country of the *Mascoutines*, to discover the South Sea and the great river — they call the *Mississippi* — which is supposed to discharge itself into the Sea of California. *Sieur Joliet* is a man of great experience in these sorts of discoveries, and has already been almost to that great river, the mouth of which he promises to see. We shall have intelligence of him, certainly, this summer.* Father Marquette was chosen to accompany *Joliet* on account of the information he had already ob-

* Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 92.

tained from the Indians relating to the countries to be explored, and also because, as he wrote Father Dablon, his superior, when informed by the latter that he was to be Joliet's companion, "I am ready to go on your order to seek new nations toward the South Sea, and teach them of our great God whom they hitherto have not known."

The voyage of Joliet and Marquette is so interesting that we introduce extracts from Father Marquette's journal. The version we adopt is Father Marquette's original journal, prepared for publication by his superior, Father Dablon, and which lay in manuscript at Quebec, among the archives of the Jesuits, until 1852, when it, together with Father Marquette's original map, were brought to light, translated into English, and published by Dr. John G. Shea, in his "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi." The version commonly sanctioned was Marquette's narrative sent to the French government, where it lay unpublished until it came into the hands of M. Thevenot, who printed it at Paris, in a book issued by him in 1681, called "*Recueil de Voyages*." This account differs somewhat, though not essentially, from the narrative as published by Dr. Shea.

Before proceeding farther, however, we will turn aside a moment to note the fact that Spain had a prior right over France to the Mississippi Valley by virtue of previous discovery. As early as the year 1525, Cortez had conquered Mexico, portioned out its rich mines among his favorites and reduced the inoffensive inhabitants to the worst of slavery, making them till the ground and toil in the mines for their unfeeling masters. A few years following the conquest of Mexico, the Spaniards, under Pamphilus de Narvaez, in 1528, undertook to conquer and colonize Florida and the entire northern coast-line of the Gulf. After long and fruitless wanderings in the interior, his party returned to the sea-coast and endeavored to reach Tampico, in wretched boats. Nearly all perished by storm, disease or famine. The survivors, with one Cabeza de Vaca at their head, drifted to an island near the present state of Mississippi; from which, after four years of slavery, De Vaca, with four companions, escaped to the mainland and started westward, going clear across the continent to the Gulf of California. The natives took them for supernatural beings. They assumed the guise of jugglers, and the Indian tribes, through which they passed, invested them with the title of medicine-men, and their lives were thus guarded with superstitious awe. They are, perhaps, the first Europeans who ever went overland from the Atlantic to the Pacific. They must have crossed the Great River somewhere on their route, and, says Dr. Shea, "remain in history, in a distant twilight, as the first Europeans known to have stood on the banks of the Mississippi." In 1539,

Hernando de Soto, with a party of cavaliers, most of them sons of titled nobility, landed with their horses upon the coast of Florida. During that and the following four years, these daring adventurers wandered through the wilderness, traveling in portions of Florida, Carolina, the northern parts of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, crossing the Mississippi, as is supposed, as high up as White River, and going still westward to the base of the Rocky Mountains, vainly searching for the rich gold mines of which De Vaca had given marvellous accounts. De Soto's party endured hardships that would depress the stoutest heart, while, with fire and sword, they perpetrated atrocities upon the Indian tribes through which they passed, burning their villages and inflicting cruelties which make us blush for the wickedness of men claiming to be christians. De Soto died, in May or June, 1542, on the banks of the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Washita, and his immediate attendants concealed his death from the others and secretly, in the night, buried his body in the middle of the stream. The remnant of his survivors went westward and then returned back again to the river, passing the winter upon its banks. The following spring they went down the river, in seven boats which they had rudely constructed out of such scanty material and with the few tools they could command. In these, after a three months' voyage, they arrived at the Spanish town of Panuco, on the river of that name in Mexico.

Later, in 1565, Spain, failing in previous attempts, effected a lodgment in Florida, and for the protection of her colony built the fort at St. Augustine, whose ancient ruin, still standing, is an object of curiosity to the health-seeker and a monument to the hundreds of native Indians who, reduced to bondage by their Spanish conquerors, perished, after years of unrequited labor, in erecting its frowning walls and gloomy dungeons.

While Spain retained her hold upon Mexico and enlarged her possessions, and continued, with feebler efforts, to keep possession of the Floridas, she took no measures to establish settlements along the Mississippi or to avail herself of the advantage that might have resulted from its discovery. The Great River excited no further notice after De Soto's time. For the next hundred years it remained as it were a sealed mystery until the French, approaching from the north by way of the lakes, explored it in its entire length, and brought to public light the vast extent and wonderful fertility of its valleys. Resuming the thread of our history at the place where we turned aside to notice the movements of the Spanish toward the Gulf, we now proceed with the extracts from Father Marquette's journal of the voyage of discovery down the Mississippi.

CHAPTER VII.

JOLIET AND MARQUETTE'S VOYAGE.

THE day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, whom I had always invoked, since I have been in this Ottawa country, to obtain of God the grace to be able to visit the nations on the River Mississippi, was identically that on which M. Jollying arrived with orders of the Comte de Frontenac, our governor, and M. Talon, our intendant, to make this discovery with me. I was the more enraptured at this good news, as I saw my designs on the point of being accomplished, and myself in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these nations, and particularly for the Illinois, who had, when I was at Lapointe du Esprit, very earnestly entreated me to carry the word of God to their country."

"We were not long in preparing our outfit, although we were embarking on a voyage the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some dried meats, was our whole stock of provisions. With this we set out in two bark canoes, M. Jollying, myself and five men, firmly resolved to do all and suffer all for so glorious an enterprise."

"It was on the 17th of May, 1673, that we started from the mission of St. Ignatius, at Michilimackinac, where I then was."*

"Our joy at being chosen for this expedition roused our courage and sweetened the labor of rowing from morning to night. As we were going to seek unknown countries, we took all possible precautions that, if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be foolhardy; for this reason we gathered all possible information from the Indians who had frequented those parts, and even from their accounts, traced a map of all the new country, marking down the rivers on which we were to sail, the names of the nations and places through which we were to pass, the course of the Great River, and what direction we should take when we got to it."

"Above all, I put our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her that, if she did us the grace to discover the Great River, I would give it the name of the conception;

* St. Ignatius was not on the Island of Mackinaw, but westward of it, on a point of land extending into the strait, from the north shore, laid down on modern maps as "Point St. Ignace." On this bleak, exposed and barren spot this mission was established by Marquette himself in 1671. Shea's Catholic Missions, p. 364.

and that I would also give that name to the first mission I should establish among these new nations, as I have actually done among the Illinois."

After some days they reached an Indian village, and the journal proceeds: "Here we are, then, at the Maskoutens. This word, in Algonquin, may mean Fire Nation, and that is the name given to them. This is the limit of discoveries made by the French, for they have not yet passed beyond it. This town is made up of three nations gathered here, Miamis, Maskoutens and Kikabous.* As bark for cabins, in this country, is rare, they use rushes, which serve them for walls and roofs, but which afford them no protection against the wind, and still less against the rain when it falls in torrents. The advantage of this kind of cabins is that they can roll them up and carry them easily where they like in hunting time."

"I felt no little pleasure in beholding the position of this town. The view is beautiful and very picturesque, for, from the eminence on which it is perched, the eye discovers on every side prairies spreading away beyond its reach interspersed with thickets or groves of trees. The soil is very good, producing much corn. The Indians gather also quantities of plums and grapes, from which good wine could be made if they choose."

"No sooner had we arrived than M. Jolliet and I assembled the Sachems. He told them that he was sent by our governor to discover new countries, and I by the Almighty to illumine them with the light of the gospel; that the Sovereign Master of our lives wished to be known to all nations, and that to obey his will I did not fear death, to which I exposed myself in such dangerous voyages; that we needed two guides to put us on our way; these, making them a present, we begged them to grant us. This they did very civilly, and even proceeded to speak to us by a present, which was a mat to serve us on our voyage."

"The next day, which was the 10th of June, two Miamis whom they had given us as guides embarked with us in the sight of a great crowd, who could not wonder enough to see seven Frenchmen, alone in two canoes, dare to undertake so strange and so hazardous an expedition."

"We knew that there was, three leagues from Maskoutens, a river emptying into the Mississippi. We knew, too, that the point of the compass we were to hold to reach it was the west-southwest, but the

* The village was near the mouth of Wolf River, which empties into Winnebago Lake, Wisconsin. The stream was formerly called the Maskouten, and a tribe of this name dwelt along its banks.

way is so cut up with marshes and little lakes that it is easy to go astray, especially as the river leading to it is so covered with wild oats that you can hardly discover the channel; hence we had need of our two guides, who led us safely to a portage of twenty-seven hundred paces and helped us transport our canoes to enter this river, after which they returned, leaving us alone in an unknown country in the hands of Providence.”*

“We now leave the waters which flow to Quebec, a distance of four or five hundred leagues, to follow those which will henceforth lead us into strange lands.

“Our route was southwest, and after sailing about thirty leagues we perceived a place which had all the appearances of an iron mine, and in fact one of our party who had seen some before averred that the one we had found was very rich and very good. After forty leagues on this same route we reached the mouth of our river, and finding ourselves at $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. we safely entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June with a joy that I cannot express.”†

*This portage has given the name to Portage City, Wisconsin, where the upper waters of Fox River, emptying into Green Bay, approach the Wisconsin River, which, coming from the northwest, here changes its course to the southwest. The distance from the Wisconsin to the Fox River at this point is, according to Henry R. Schoolcraft, a mile and a half across a level prairie, and the level of the two streams is so nearly the same that in high water loaded canoes formerly passed from the one to the other across this low prairie. For many miles below the portage the channel of Fox River was choked with a growth of tangled wild rice. The stream frequently expanding into little lakes, and its winding, crooked course through the prairie, well justifies the tradition of the Winnebago Indians concerning its origin. A vast serpent that lived in the waters of the Mississippi took a freak to visit the great lakes; he left his trail where he crossed over the prairie, which, collecting the waters as they fell from the rains of heaven, at length became Fox River. The little lakes along its course were, probably, the places where he flourished about in his uneasy slumbers at night. Mrs. John H. Kinzie's *Waubun*, p. 80.

†Father Marquette, agreeably to his vow, named the river the Immaculate Conception. Nine years later, when Robert La Salle, having discovered the river in its entire length, took possession at its mouth of the whole Mississippi Valley, he named the river Colbert, in honor of the Minister of the Navy, a man renowned alike for his ability, at the head of the Department of the Marine, and for the encouragement he gave to literature, science and art. Still later, in 1712, when the vast country drained by its waters was farmed out to private enterprise, as appears from letters patent from the King of France, conveying the whole to M. Crozat, the name of the river was changed to St. Lewis. Fortunately the Mississippi retains its aboriginal name, which is a compound from the two Algonquin words *missi*, signifying great, and *sepe*, a river. The former is variously pronounced *missil* or *michil*, as in Michilimakinac; *michi*, as in Michigan; *missu*, as in Missouri, and *missi*, as in the Mississeneway of the Wabash. The variation in pronunciation is not greater than we might expect in an unwritten language. “The Western Indians,” says Mr. Schoolcraft, “have no other word than *missi* to express the highest degree of magnitude, either in a moral or in a physical sense, and it may be considered as not only synonymous to our word *great*, but also magnificent, supreme, stupendous, etc.” Father Hennepin, who next to Marquette wrote concerning the derivation of the name, says: “Mississippi, in the language of the Illinois, means the great river.” Some authors, perhaps with more regard for a pleasing fiction than plain matter-of-fact, have rendered Mississippi “The Father of Waters;” whereas, *nos*, *noussey* and *nosha* mean father, and *neebi*, *nipi* or *nepee* mean water, as universally in the dialect of Algonquin tribes, as does the word *missi* mean great and *sepi* a river.

" Having descended as far as $41^{\circ} 28'$, following the same direction, we find that turkeys have taken the place of game, and pisikious (buffalo) or wild cattle that of other beasts.

" At last, on the 25th of June, we perceived foot-prints of men by the water-side and a beaten path entering a beautiful prairie. We stopped to examine it, and concluding that it was a path leading to some Indian village we resolved to go and reconnoitre; we accordingly left our two canoes in charge of our people, cautioning them to beware of a surprise; then M. Jolliet and I undertook this rather hazardous discovery for two single men, who thus put themselves at the mercy of an unknown and barbarous people. We followed the little path in silence, and having advanced about two leagues we discovered a village on the banks of the river, and two others on a hill half a league from the former. Then, indeed, we recommended ourselves to God with all our hearts, and having implored his help we passed on undiscovered, and came so near that we even heard the Indians talking. We then deemed it time to announce ourselves, as we did, by a cry which we raised with all our strength, and then halted, without advancing any farther. At this cry the Indians rushed out of their cabins, and having probably recognized us as French, especially seeing a black gown, or at least having no reason to distrust us, seeing we were but two and had made known our coming, they deputed four old men to come and speak to us. Two carried tobacco-pipes well adorned and trimmed with many kinds of feathers. They marched slowly, lifting their pipes toward the sun as if offering them to it to smoke, but yet without uttering a single word. They were a long time coming the little way from the village to us. Having reached us at last, they stopped to consider us attentively.

" I now took courage, seeing these ceremonies, which are used by them only with friends, and still more on seeing them covered with stuffs which made me judge them to be allies. I, therefore, spoke to them first, and asked them who they were. They answered that they were Illinois, and in token of peace they presented their pipes to smoke. They then invited us to their village, where all the tribe awaited us with impatience. These pipes for smoking are all called in this country calumets, a word that is so much in use that I shall be obliged to employ it in order to be understood, as I shall have to speak of it frequently.

" At the door of the cabin in which we were to be received was an old man awaiting us in a very remarkable posture, which is their usual ceremony in receiving strangers. This man was standing perfectly naked, with his hands stretched out and raised toward the sun, as if he wished to screen himself from its rays, which, nevertheless, passed

through his fingers to his face. When we came near him he paid us this compliment: 'How beautiful is the sun, O Frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! All our town awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our cabins in peace.' He then took us into his, where there was a crowd of people, who devoured us with their eyes but kept a profound silence. We heard, however, these words occasionally addressed to us: 'Well done, brothers, to visit us!' As soon as we had taken our places they showed us the usual civility of the country, which is to present the calumet. You must not refuse it unless you would pass for an enemy, or at least for being very impolite. It is, however, enough to pretend to smoke. While all the old men smoked after us to honor us, some came to invite us, on behalf of the great sachem of all the Illinois, to proceed to his town, where he wished to hold a council with us. We went with a good retinue, for all the people who had never seen a Frenchman among them could not tire looking at us; they threw themselves on the grass by the wayside, they ran ahead, then turned and walked back to see us again. All this was done without noise, and with marks of a great respect entertained for us.

"Having arrived at the great sachem's town, we espied him at his cabin door between two old men; all three standing naked, with their calumet turned to the sun. He harangued us in a few words, to congratulate us on our arrival, and then presented us his calumet and made us smoke; at the same time we entered his cabin, where we received all their usual greetings. Seeing all assembled and in silence, I spoke to them by four presents which I made. By the first, I said that we marched in peace to visit the nations on the river to the sea; by the second, I declared to them that God, their creator, had pity on them, since, after their having been so long ignorant of him, he wished to become known to all nations; that I was sent on his behalf with this design; that it was for them to acknowledge and obey him; by the third, that the great chief of the French informed them that he spread peace everywhere, and had overcome the Iroquois; lastly, by the fourth, we begged them to give us all the information they had of the sea, and of nations through which we should have to pass to reach it.

"When I had finished my speech, the sachem rose, and laying his hand on the head of a little slave whom he was about to give us, spoke thus: 'I thank thee, Black-gown, and thee, Frenchman,' addressing M. Jollyet, 'for taking so much pains to come and visit us. Never has the earth been so beautiful, nor the sun so bright, as to-day; never has our river been so calm, nor so free from rocks, which your canoes have removed as they passed; never has our tobacco had so fine a flavor,

nor our corn appeared so beautiful as we behold it to-day. Here is my son that I give thee that thou mayest know my heart. I pray thee take pity on me and all my nation. Thou knowest the Great Spirit who has made us all; thou speakest to him and hearest his word; ask him to give me life and health, and come and dwell with us that we may know him.' Saying this, he placed the little slave near us and made us a second present, an all mysterious calumet, which they value more than a slave. By this present he showed us his esteem for our governor, after the account we had given of him. By the third he begged us, on behalf of his whole nation, not to proceed farther on account of the great dangers to which we exposed ourselves.

"I replied that I did not fear death, and that I esteemed no happiness greater than that of losing my life for the glory of him who made us all. But this these poor people could not understand. The council was followed by a great feast which consisted of four courses, which we had to take with all their ways. The first course was a great wooden dish full of sagamity,—that is to say, of Indian meal boiled in water and seasoned with grease. The master of ceremonies, with a spoonful of sagamity, presented it three or four times to my mouth, as we would do with a little child; he did the same to M. Jollyet. For the second course, he brought in a second dish containing three fish; he took some pains to remove the bones, and having blown upon it to cool it, put it in my mouth as we would food to a bird. For the third course they produced a large dog which they had just killed, but, learning that we did not eat it, withdrew it. Finally, the fourth course was a piece of wild ox, the fattest portions of which were put into our mouths.

"We took leave of our Illinois about the end of June, and embarked in sight of all the tribe, who admire our little canoes, having never seen the like.

"As we were discoursing, while sailing gently down a beautiful, still, clear water, we heard the noise of a rapid into which we were about to fall. I have seen nothing more frightful; a mass of large trees, entire, with branches,—real floating islands,—came rushing from the mouth of the river Pekitanöüi, so impetuously that we could not, without great danger, expose ourselves to pass across. The agitation was so great that the water was all muddy and could not get clear.*

* Pekitanöüi, with the aboriginals, signified "muddy water," on the authority of Father Marest, in his letter referred to in a previous note. The present name, Missouri, according to Le Page du Pratz, vol. 2. p. 157, was derived from the tribe, Missouri, whose village was some forty leagues above its mouth, and who massacred a French garrison situated in that part of the country. The late statesman and orator, Thomas A. Benton, referring to the muddiness prevailing at all seasons of the year in the Missouri River, said that its waters were "too thick to swim in and too thin to walk on."

"After having made about twenty leagues due south, and a little less to the southeast, we came to a river called Ouabouskigou, the mouth of which is at 36° north.* This river comes from the country on the east inhabited by the Chaoúanons, in such numbers that they reckon as many as twenty-three villages in one district, and fifteen in another, lying quite near each other. They are by no means warlike, and are the people the Iroquois go far to seek in order to wage an unprovoked war upon them; and as these poor people cannot defend themselves they allow themselves to be taken and carried off like sheep, and, innocent as they are, do not fail to experience the barbarity of the Iroquois, who burn them cruelly."

Having arrived about half a league from Akansea (Arkansas River), we saw two canoes coming toward us. The commander was standing up holding in his hand a calumet, with which he made signs according to the custom of the country. He approached us, singing quite agreeably, and invited us to smoke, after which he presented us some sagamity and bread made of Indian corn, of which we ate a little. We fortunately found among them a man who understood Illinois much better than the man we brought from Mitchigameh. By means of him, I first spoke to the assembly by ordinary presents. They admired what I told them of God and the mysteries of our holy faith, and showed a great desire to keep me with them to instruct them.

"We then asked them what they knew of the sea; they replied that we were only ten days' journey from it (we could have made the distance in five days); that they did not know the nations who inhabited it, because their enemies prevented their commerce with those Europeans; that the Indians with fire-arms whom we had met were their enemies, who cut off the passage to the sea, and prevented their making the acquaintance of the Europeans, or having any commerce with them; that besides we should expose ourselves greatly by passing on, in consequence of the continual war parties that their enemies sent out on the river; since, being armed and used to war, we could not, without evident danger, advance on that river which they constantly occupy.

"In the evening the sachems held a secret council on the design of some to kill us for plunder, but the chief broke up all these schemes, and sending for us, danced the calumet in our presence, and then, to remove all fears, presented it to me.

"M. Jolliet and I held another council to deliberate on what we should do, whether we should push on, or rest satisfied with the dis-

*The Wabash here appears, for the first time, by name. A more extended notice of the various names by which this stream has been known will be given farther on.

covery that we had made. After having attentively considered that we were not far from the Gulf of Mexico, the basin of which is $31^{\circ} 40'$ north, and we at $33^{\circ} 40'$; so that we could not be more than two or three days' journey off; that the Mississippi undoubtedly had its mouth in Florida or the Gulf of Mexico, and not on the east in Virginia, whose sea-coast is at 34° north, which we had passed, without having as yet reached the sea, nor on the western side in California, because that would require a west, or west-southwest course, and we had always been going south. We considered, moreover, that we risked losing the fruit of this voyage, of which we could give no information, if we should throw ourselves into the hands of the Spaniards, who would undoubtedly at least hold us as prisoners. Besides it was clear that we were not in a condition to resist Indians allied to Europeans, numerous and expert in the use of fire-arms, who continually infested the lower part of the river. Lastly, we had gathered all the information that could be desired from the expedition. All these reasons induced us to return. This we announced to the Indians, and after a day's rest prepared for it.

"After a month's navigation down the Mississippi, from the 42d to below the 34th degree, and after having published the gospel as well as I could to the nations I had met, we left the village of Akansea on the 17th of July, to retrace our steps. We accordingly ascended the Mississippi, which gave us great trouble to stem its currents. We left it, indeed, about the 38th degree, to enter another river (the Illinois), which greatly shortened our way, and brought us, with little trouble, to the lake of the Illinois.

"We had seen nothing like *this* river for the fertility of the land, its prairies, woods, wild cattle, stag, deer, wild-cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beaver; its many little lakes and rivers. That on which we sailed is broad deep and gentle for sixty-five leagues. During the spring and part of the summer, the only portage is half a league.

"We found there an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins; they received us well, and compelled me to promise them to return and instruct them. One of the chiefs of this tribe, with his young men, escorted us to the Illinois Lake, whence at last we returned in the close of September to the Bay of the Fetid (Green Bay), whence we had set out in the beginning of June. Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid, and this I have reason to think, for, when I was returning, I passed by the Indians of Peoria. I was three days announcing the faith in their cabins, after which, as we were embarking, they brought

me, on the water's edge, a dying child, which I baptized a little before it expired, by an admirable providence for the salvation of that innocent soul."

Count Frontenac, writing from Quebec to M. Colbert, Minister of the Marine, at Paris, under date of November 14, 1674, announces that "Sieur Joliet, whom Monsieur Talon advised me, on my arrival from France, to dispatch for the discovery of the South Sea, has returned three months ago. He has discovered some very fine countries, and a navigation so easy through beautiful rivers he has found, that a person can go from Lake Ontario in a bark to the Gulf of Mexico, there being only one carrying place (around Niagara Falls), where Lake Ontario communicates with Lake Erie. I send you, by my secretary, the map which Sieur Joliet has made of the great river he has discovered, and the observations he has been able to recollect, as he lost all his minutes and journals in the shipwreck he suffered within sight of Montreal, where, after having completed a voyage of twelve hundred leagues, he was near being drowned, and lost all his papers and a little Indian whom he brought from those countries. These accidents have caused me great regret."*

Louis Joliet, or Jolliet, or Jollyet, as the name is variously spelled, was the son of Jean Joliet, a wheelwright, and Mary d'Abancour; he was born at Quebec in the year 1645. Having finished his studies at the Jesuit college he determined to become a member of that order, and with that purpose in view took some of the minor orders of the society in August, 1662. He completed his studies in 1666, but during this time his attention had become interested in Indian affairs, and he laid aside all thoughts of assuming the "black gown." That he acquired great ability and tact in managing the savages, is apparent from the fact of his having been selected to discover the south sea by the way of the Mississippi. The map which he drew from memory, and which was forwarded by Count Frontenac to France, was afterward attached to Marquette's Journal, and was published by Therenot, at Paris, in 1681. Sparks, in his "Life of Marquette," copies this map, and ascribes it to his hero. This must be a mistake, since it differs quite essentially from Marquette's map, which has recently been brought to public notice by Dr. Shea.

Joliet's account of the voyage, mentioned by Frontenac, is published in Hennepin's "Discovery of a Vast Country in America." It is very meagre, and does not present any facts not covered by Marquette's narrative.

In 1680 Joliet was appointed hydrographer to the king, and many

* Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 121.

well-drawn maps at Quebec show that his office was no sinecure. Afterward, he made a voyage to Hudson's Bay in the interest of the king; and as a reward for the faithful performance of his duty, he was granted the island of Anticosti, which, on account of the fisheries and Indian trade, was at that time very valuable. After this, he signed himself Joliet d'Anticosti. In the year 1697, he obtained the seignory of Joliet on the river Etchemins, south of Quebec. M. Joliet died in 1701, leaving a wife and four children, the descendants of whom are living in Canada still possessed of the seignory of Joliet, among whom are Archbishop Taschereau of Quebec and Archbishop Tache of Red River.

Mount Joliet, on the Desplaines River, above its confluence with the Kankakee, and the city of Joliet, in the county of Will, perpetuate the name of Joliet in the state of Illinois.

Jacques Marquette was born in Laon, France, in 1637. His was the oldest and one of the most respectable citizen families of the place. At the age of seventeen he entered the Society of Jesus; received orders in 1666 to embark for Canada, arriving at Quebec in September of the same year. For two years he remained at Three Rivers, studying the different Indian dialects under Father Gabriel Druillentes. At the end of that period he received orders to repair to the upper lakes, which he did, and established the Mission of Sault Ste. Marie. The following year Dablon arrived, having been appointed Superior of the Ottawa missions; Marquette then went to the "Mission of the Holy Ghost" at the western extremity of Lake Superior; here he remained for two years, and it was his accounts, forwarded from this place, that caused Frontenac and Talon to send Joliet on his voyage to the Mississippi. The Sioux having dispersed the Algonquin tribes at Lapointe, the latter retreated eastward to Mackinaw; Marquette followed and founded there the Mission of St. Ignatius. Here he remained until Joliet came, in 1673, with orders to accompany him on his voyage of discovery down the Mississippi. Upon his return, Marquette remained at Mackinaw until October, 1674, when he received orders to carry out his pet project of founding the "Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin" among the Illinois. He immediately set out, but owing to a severe dysentery, contracted the year previous, he made but slow progress. However, he reached Chicago Creek, December 4, where, growing rapidly worse, he was compelled to winter. On the 29th of the following March he set out for the Illinois town, on the river of that name. He succeeded in getting there on the 8th of April. Being cordially received by the Indians, he was enabled to realize his long deferred and much cherished project of establishing

the "Mission of the Immaculate Conception." Believing that his life was drawing to a close, he endeavored to reach Mackinaw before his death should take place. But in this hope he was doomed to disappointment; by the time he reached Lake Michigan "he was so weak that he had to be carried like a child." One Saturday, Marquette and his two companions entered a small stream — which still bears his name — on the eastern side of Lake Michigan, and in this desolate spot, virtually alone, destitute of all the comforts of life, died James Marquette. His life-long wish to die a martyr in the holy cause of Jesus and the Blessed Virgin, was granted. Thus passed away one of the purest and most sacrificing servants of God,— one of the bravest and most heroic of men.

The biographical sketch of Joliet has been collated from a number of reliable authorities, and is believed truthful. Our notice of Father Marquette is condensed from his life as written by Dr. Shea, than whom there is no one better qualified to perform the task.

CHAPTER VIII.

EXPLORATIONS BY LA SALLE.

THE success of the French, in their plan of colonization, was so great, and the trade with the savages, exchanging fineries, guns, knives, and, more than all, spirituous liquors for valuable furs, yielded such enormous profits, that impetus was given to still greater enterprises. They involved no less than the hemming in of the British colonies along the Atlantic coast and a conquest of the rich mines in Mexico, from the Spanish. These purposes are boldly avowed in a letter of M. Talon, the king's enterprising intendant at Quebec, in 1671; and also in the declarations of the great Colbert, at Paris, "I am," says M. Talon, in his letter to the king referred to, "no courtier, and assert, not through a mere desire to please the king, nor without just reason, that this portion of the French monarchy will become something grand. What I discover around me makes me foresee this; and those colonies of foreign nations so long settled on the seaboard already tremble with fright, in view of what his majesty has accomplished here in the interior. The measures adopted to confine them within narrow limits, by taking possession, which I have caused to be effected, do not allow them to spread, without subjecting themselves, at the same time, to be treated as usurpers, and have war waged against them. This in truth is what by all their acts they seem to greatly fear. They already know that your name is spread abroad among the savages throughout all those countries, and that they regard your majesty alone as the arbitrator of peace and war; they detach themselves insensibly from other Europeans, and excepting the Iroquois, of whom I am not as yet assured, we can safely promise that the others will take up arms whenever we please." "The principal result," says La Salle, in his memoir at a later day, "expected from the great perils and labors which I underwent in the discovery of the Mississippi was to satisfy the wish expressed to me by the late Monsieur Colbert, of finding a port where the French might establish themselves and harass the Spaniards in those regions from whence they derive all their wealth. The place I propose to fortify lies sixty leagues above the mouth of the river Colbert (*i. e.* Mississippi) in the Gulf of Mexico, and possesses all the advantages for such a purpose which can be wished for, both on account

of its excellent position and the favorable disposition of the savages who live in that part of the country.”* It is not our province to indulge in conjectures as to how far these daring purposes of Talon and Colbert would have succeeded had not the latter died, and their active assistant, Robert La Salle, have lost his life, at the hands of an assassin, when in the act of executing the preliminary part of the enterprise. We turn, rather, to matters of historical record, and proceed with a condensed sketch of the life and voyages of La Salle, as it was his discoveries that led to the colonization of the Mississippi Valley by the French.

La Salle was born, of a distinguished family, at Rouen, France. He was consecrated to the service of God in early life, and entered the Society of Jesus, in which he remained ten years, laying the foundation of moral principles, regular habits and elements of science that served him so well in his future arduous undertakings. Like many other young men having plans of useful life, he thought Canada would offer better facilities to develop them than the cramped and fixed society of France. He accordingly left his home, and reached Montreal in 1666. Being of a resolute and venturesome disposition, he found employment in making explorations of the country about the lakes. He soon became a favorite of Talon, the intendant, and of Frontenac, the governor, at Quebec. He was selected by the latter to take command of Fort Frontenac, near the present city of Kingston, on the St. Lawrence River, and at that time a dilapidated, wooden structure on the frontier of Canada. He remained in Canada about nine years, acquiring a knowledge of the country and particularly of the Indian tribes, their manners, habits and customs, and winning the confidence of the French authorities. He returned to France and presented a memoir to the king, in which he urged the necessity of maintaining Fort Frontenac, which he offered to restore with a structure of stone; to keep there a garrison equal to the one at Montreal; to employ as many as fifteen laborers during the first year; to clear and till the land, and to supply the surrounding Indian villages with Recollect missionaries in furtherance of the cause of religion, all at his own expense, on condition that the king would grant him the right of seigniori and a monopoly of the trade incident to it. He further petitioned for title of nobility in consideration of voyages he had already made in Canada at his own expense, and which had resulted in the great benefit to the king's colony. The king heard the petition graciously, and

* Talon's letter to the king: Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 73. La Salle's Memoir to the king, on the necessity of fitting out an expedition to take possession of Louisiana: Historical Collections of Louisiana, part 1, p. 5.

on the 13th May, 1675, granted La Salle and his heirs Fort Frontenac, with four leagues of the adjacent country along the lakes and rivers above and below the fort and a half a league inward, and the adjacent islands, with the right of hunting and fishing on Lake Ontario and the circumjacent rivers. On the same day, the king issued to La Salle letters patent of nobility, having, as the king declares, been informed of the worthy deeds performed by the people, either in reducing or civilizing the savages or in defending themselves against their frequent insults, especially those of the Iroquois; in despising the greatest dangers in order to extend the king's name and empire to the extremity of that new world; and desiring to reward those who have thus rendered themselves most eminent; and wishing to treat most favorably Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle on account of the good and laudable report that has been rendered concerning his actions in Canada, the king does ennoble and decorate with the title of nobility the said cavalier, together with his wife and children. He left France with these precious documents, and repaired to Fort Frontenac, where he performed the conditions imposed by the terms of his titles.

He sailed for France again in 1677, and in the following year after he and Colbert had fully matured their plans, he again petitioned the king for a license to prosecute further discoveries. The king granted his request, giving him a permit, under date of May 12, 1678, to endeavor to discover the western part of New France; the king avowing in the letters patent that "he had nothing more at heart than the discovery of that country where there is a prospect of finding a way to penetrate as far as Mexico," and authorizing La Salle to prosecute discoveries, and construct forts in such places as he might think necessary, and enjoy there the same monopoly as at Fort Frontenac,—all on condition that the enterprise should be prosecuted at La Salle's expense, and completed within five years; that he should not trade with the savages, who carried their peltries and beavers to Montreal; and that the governor, intendant, justices, and other officers of the king in New France, should aid La Salle in his enterprise.* Before leaving France, La Salle, through the Prince de Conti, was introduced to one Henri de Tonti, an Italian by birth, who for eight years had been in the French service. Having had one of his hands shot off while in Sicily, he repaired to France to seek other employment. It was a most fortunate meeting. Tonti—a name that should be prominently associated with discoveries in this part of America—became La Salle's companion. Ever faithful and courageous, he ably and zealously fur-

* *Vide* the petitions of La Salle to, and the grants from, the king, which are found at length in the Paris Documents, vol. 9, pp. 122 to 127.

thered all of La Salle's plans, followed and defended him under the most discouraging trials, with an unselfish fidelity that has few parallels in any age.

Supplied with this new grant of enlarged powers, La Salle, in company with Tonti,—or Tonty, as Dr. Sparks says he has seen the name written in an autograph letter,—and thirty men, comprising pilots, sailors, carpenters and other mechanics, with a supply of material necessary for the intended exploration, left France for Quebec. Here the party were joined by some Canadians, and the whole force was sent forward to Fort Frontenac, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, since this fort had been granted to La Salle. He had, in conformity to the terms of his letters patent, greatly enlarged and strengthened its defenses. Here he met Louis Hennepin, a Franciscan Friar, whom it seems had been sent thither along with Father Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenobius Membre, all of the same religious order, to accompany La Salle's expedition. In the meantime, Hennepin was occupied in pastoral labors among the soldiers of the garrison, and the inhabitants of a little hamlet of peasants near by, and proselyting the Indians of the neighboring country. Hennepin, from his own account, had not only traveled over several parts of Europe before coming to Canada, but since his arrival in America, had spent much time in roaming about among the savages, to gratify his love of adventure and acquire knowledge.

Hennepin's name and writings are so prominently connected with the early history of the Mississippi Valley, and, withal, his contradictory statements, made at a later day of his life, as to the extent of his own travels, have so clouded his reputation with grave doubt as to his regard for truth, that we will turn aside and give the reader a sketch of this most singular man and his claims as a discoverer. He was bold, courageous, patient and hopeful under the most trying fatigues; and had a taste for the privations and dangers of a life among the savages, whose ways and caprices he well understood, and knew how to turn them to insure his own safety. He was a shrewd observer and possessed a faculty for that detail and little minutiae, which make a narrative racy and valuable. He was vain and much given to self-glorification. He accompanied La Salle, in the first voyage, as far as Peoria Lake, and he and Father Zenobe Membre are the historians of that expedition. From Peoria Lake he went down the Illinois, under orders from La Salle, and up the Mississippi beyond St. Anthony's Falls, giving this name to the falls. This interesting voyage was not prosecuted voluntarily; for Hennepin and his two companions were captured by the Sioux and taken up the river as prisoners, often in

great peril of their lives. He saw La Salle no more, after parting with him at Peoria Lake. He was released from captivity through the intervention of Mons. Duluth, a French Coureur de Bois, who had previously established a trade with the Sioux, on the upper Mississippi, by way of Lake Superior. After his escape, Hennepin descended the Mississippi to the mouth of the Wisconsin, which he ascended, made the portage at the head of Fox River, thence to Green Bay and Mackinaw, by the route pursued by Joliet and Marquette on their way to the Mississippi, seven years before. From Mackinaw he proceeded to France, where, in 1683, he published, under royal authority, an account of his travels. For refusing to obey an order of his superiors, to return to America, he was banished from France. He went to Holland and obtained the favor and patronage of William III, king of England, to whose service, as he himself says, "he entirely devoted himself." In Holland, he received money and sustenance from Mr. Blathwait, King William's secretary of war, while engaged in preparing a new volume of his voyages, which was published at Utrecht, in 1697, and dedicated "To His Most Excellent Majesty William the Third." The revised edition contains substantially all of the first, and a great deal besides; for in this last work Hennepin lays claim, for the first time, to having gone *down* the Mississippi to its mouth, thus seeking to deprive La Salle of the glory attaching to his name, on account of this very discovery. La Salle had now been dead about fourteen years, and from the time he went down the Mississippi, in 1682, to the hour of his death, although his discovery was well known, especially to Hennepin, the latter never laid any claim to having anticipated him in the discovery. Besides, Hennepin's own account, after so long a silence, of his pretended voyage down the river is so utterly inconsistent with itself, especially with respect to dates and the impossibility of his traveling the distances within the time he alleges, that the story carries its own refutation. For this mendacious act, Father Hennepin has merited the severest censures of Charlevoix, Jared Sparks, Francis Parkman, Dr. Shea and other historical critics.

His first work is generally regarded as authority. That he did go up the Mississippi river there seems to be no controversy, while grave doubts prevail as to many statements in his last publication, which would otherwise pass without suspicion were they not found in company with statements known to be untrue.

In the preface to his last work, issued in 1697, Father Hennepin assigns as a reason why he did not publish his descent of the Mississippi in his volume issued in 1683, "that I was obliged to say nothing of the course of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Illinois down

to the sea, for fear of disoblighing M. La Salle, with whom I began my discovery. This gentleman, alone, would have the glory of having discovered the course of that river. But when he heard that I had done it two years before him he could never forgive me, though, as I have said, I was so modest as to publish nothing of it. This was the true cause of his malice against me, and of the barbarous usage I met with in France."

Still, his description of places he did visit; the aboriginal names and geographical features of localities; his observations, especially upon the manners and customs of the Indians, and other facts which he had no motive to misrepresent, are generally regarded as true in his last as well as in his first publication. His works, indeed, are the only repositories of many interesting particulars relating to the northwest, and authors quote from him, some indiscriminately and others with more caution, while all criticise him without measure.

Hennepin was born in Belgium in 1640, as is supposed, and died at Utrecht, Holland, within a few years after issuing his last book. This was republished in London in 1698, the translation into English being wretchedly executed. The book, aside from its historical value and the notoriety attaching to it because of the new claims Hennepin makes, is quite a curiosity. It is made up of Hennepin's own travels, blended with his fictitious discoveries, scraps and odd ends taken from the writings of other travelers without giving credit; the whole embellished with plates and a map inserted by the bookseller, and the text emphasized with italics and displayed type; all designed to render it a specimen, as it probably was in its day, of the highest skill attained in the art of book-making.

La Salle brought up the St. Lawrence to Fort Frontenac the anchors, cordage and other material to be used in the vessel which he designed to construct above the Falls of Niagara for navigating the western lakes. He already had three small vessels on Lake Ontario, which he had made use of in a coasting trade with the Indians. One of these, a brigantine of ten tons, was loaded with his effects; his men, including Fathers Gabriel, Zenobius Membre and Hennepin, who were, as Father Zenobia declares, commissioned with care of the spiritual direction of the expedition, were placed aboard, and on the 18th of November the vessel sailed westward for the Niagara River. They kept the northern shore, and run into land and bartered for corn with the Iroquois at one of their villages, situated where Toronto, Canada, is located, and for fear of being frozen up in the river, which here empties into the lake, had to cut the ice from about their ship. Detained by adverse winds, they remained here until the wind was favorable,

when they sailed across the end of the lake and found an anchorage in the mouth of Niagara River on the 6th of December. The season was far advanced, and the ground covered with snow a foot deep. Large masses of ice were floating down the river endangering the vessel, and it was necessary to take measures to give it security. Accordingly the vessel was hauled with cables up against the strong current. One of the cables broke, and the vessel itself came very near being broken to pieces or carried away by the ice, which was grinding its way to the open lake. Finally, by sheer force of human strength, the vessel was dragged to the shore, and moored with a strong hawser under a protecting cliff out of danger from the floating ice. A cabin, protected with palisades, for shelter and to serve as a magazine to store the supplies, was also constructed. The ground was frozen so hard that it had to be thawed out with boiling water before the men could drive stakes into it.

The movements of La Salle excited, first the curiosity of the Iroquois Indians, in whose country he was an intruder, and then their jealousy became aroused as they began to fear he intended the erection of a fort. The Sieur de La Salle, says the frank and modest-minded Father Zenobe Membre, "with his usual address met the principal Iroquois chiefs in conference, and gained them so completely that they not only agreed, but offered, to contribute with all their means to the execution of his designs. The conference lasted for some time. La Salle also sent many canoes to trade north and south of the lake among these tribes." Meanwhile La Salle's enemies were busy in thwarting his plans. They insinuated themselves among the Indians in the vicinity of Niagara, and filled their ears with all sorts of stories to La Salle's discredit, and aroused feelings of such distrust that work on the fort, or depot for supplies, had to be suspended, and La Salle content himself with a house surrounded by palisades.

A place was selected above the falls,* on the eastern side of the river, for the construction of the new vessel.

The ground was cleared away, trees were felled, and the carpenters set to work. The keel of the vessel was laid on the 26th of January, and some of the plank being ready to fasten on, La Salle drove the first spike. As the work progressed, La Salle made several trips, over ice and snow, and later in the spring with vessels, to Fort Frontenac, to hurry forward provisions and material. One of his vessels was lost on Lake Ontario, heavily laden with a cargo of valuable supplies, through the fault or willful perversity of her pilots. The disappointment over this calamity, says Hennepin, would have dissuaded any other person than

*Francis Parkman, in his valuable work, "The Discovery of the Great West," p. 133, locates the spot at the mouth of Cayuga Creek on the American shore.

La Salle from the further prosecution of the enterprise. The men worked industriously on the ship. The most of the Iroquois having gone to war with a nation on the northern side of Lake Erie, the few remaining behind were become less insolent than before. Still they lingered about where the work was going on, and continued expressions of discontent at what the French were doing. One of them let on to be drunk and attempted to kill the blacksmith, but the latter repulsed the Indian with a piece of iron red-hot from the forge. The Indians threatened to burn the vessel on the stocks, and might have done so were it not constantly guarded. Much of the time the only food of the men was Indian corn and fish; the distance to Fort Frontenac and the inclemency of the winter rendering it out of power to procure a supply of other or better provisions.

The frequent alarms from the Indians, a want of wholesome food, the loss of the vessel with its promised supplies, and a refusal of the neighboring tribes to sell any more of their corn, reduced the party to such extremities that the ship-carpenters tried to run away. They were, however, persuaded to remain and prosecute their work. Two Mohegan Indians, successful hunters in La Salle's service, were fortunate enough to bring in some wild goats and other game they had killed, which greatly encouraged the workmen to go on with their task more briskly than before. The vessel was completed within six months from the time its keel was laid. The ship was gotten afloat before entirely finished, to prevent the designs of the natives to burn it. She was sixty tons burthen, and called the "Griffin," a name given it by La Salle by way of a compliment to Count Frontenac, whose armorial bearings were supported by two griffins. Three guns were fired, and "*Te Deums*" chanted at the christening, and prayers offered up for a prosperous voyage. The air in the wild forest rung with shouts of joy; even the Iroquois, looking suspiciously on, were seduced with alluring draughts of brandy to lend their deep-mouthed voices to the happy occasion. The men left their cabins of bark and swung their hammocks under the deck of the ship, where they could rest with greater security from the savages than on the shore.

The Griffin, under press of a favorable breeze, and with the help of twelve men on the shore pulling at tow-ropes, was forced up against the strong current of the Niagara River to calmer waters at the entrance of the lake. On the 7th of August, 1679, her canvas was spread, and the pilot steering by the compass, the vessel, with La Salle and his thirty odd companions and their effects aboard, sailed out westward upon the unknown, silent waters of Lake Erie. In three days they reached the mouth of Detroit River. Father Hennepin was fairly

delighted with the country along this river — it was “so well situated and the soil so fertile. Vast meadows extending back from the strait and terminating at the uplands, which were clad with vineyards, and plum and pear and other fruit-bearing trees of nature’s own planting, all so well arranged that one would think they could not have been so disposed without the help of art. The country was also well stocked with deer, bear, wild goats, turkeys, and other animals and birds, that supplied a most relishing food. The forest comprised walnut and other timber in abundance suitable for building purposes. So charmed was he with the prospect that he “endeavored to persuade La Salle to settle at the ‘De Troit,’” it being in the midst of so many savage nations among whom a good trade could be established. La Salle would not listen to this proposal. He said he would make no settlement within one hundred leagues of Frontenac, lest other Europeans would be before them in the new country they were going to discover. This, says Hennepin, was the pretense of La Salle and the adventurers who were with him; for I soon discovered that their intention was to buy all the furs and skins of the remotest savages who, as they thought, did not know their value, and thus enrich themselves in one single voyage.

On Lake Huron the Griffin encountered a storm. The main-yards and topmast were blown away, giving the ship over to the mercy of the winds. There was no harbor to run into for shelter. La Salle, although a courageous man, gave way to his fears, and said they all were undone. Everyone thereupon fell upon their knees to say prayers and prepare for death, except the pilot, who cursed and swore all the while at La Salle for bringing him there to perish in a nasty lake, after he had acquired so much renown in a long and successful navigation on the ocean. The storm abated, and on the 27th of August, the Griffin resumed her course northwest, and was carried on the evening of the same day beyond the island of Mackinaw to point St. Ignace, and safely anchored in a bay that is sheltered, except from the south, by the projecting mainland.

CHAPTER IX.

LA SALLE'S VOYAGE CONTINUED.

ST. IGNACE, or Mackinaw, as previously stated, had become a principal center of the Jesuit missions, and it had also grown into a headquarters for an extensive Indian trade. Duly licensed traders, as well as the Coureurs de Bois,—men who had run wild, as it were, and by their intercourse with the nations had thrown off all restraints of civilized life,—resorted to this vicinity in considerable numbers. These, lost to all sense of national pride, instead of sustaining took every measure to thwart La Salle's plans. They, with some of the dissatisfied crew, represented to the Indians that La Salle and his associates were a set of dangerous and ambitious adventurers, who meant to engross all the trade in furs and skins and invade their liberties. These jealous and meddlesome busybodies had already, before the arrival of the Griffin, succeeded in seducing fifteen men from La Salle's service, whom with others, he had sent forward the previous spring, under command of Tonty, with a stock of merchandise; and, instead of going to the tribes beyond and preparing the way for a friendly reception of La Salle, as they were ordered to do, they loitered about Mackinaw the whole summer and squandered the goods, in spite of Tonty's persistent efforts to urge them forward in the performance of their duty. La Salle sent out other parties to trade with the natives, and these went so far, and were so busy in bartering for and collecting furs, that they did not return to Mackinaw until November. It was now getting late and La Salle was warned of the dangerous storms that sweep the lakes at the beginning of winter; he resolved, therefore, to continue his voyage without waiting the return of his men. He weighed anchor and sailed westward into Lake Michigan as far as the islands at the entrance of Green Bay, then called the Pottawatomie Islands, for the reason that they were then occupied by bands of that tribe. On one of these islands La Salle found some of the men belonging to his advance party of traders, and who, having secured a large quantity of valuable furs, had long and impatiently waited his coming.

La Salle, as is already apparent, determined to engage in a fur trade that already and legitimately belonged to merchants operating at

Montreal, and with which the terms of his own license prohibited his interfering. Without asking any one's advice he resolved to load his ship with furs and send it back to Niagara, and the furs to Quebec, and out of the proceeds of the sale to discharge some very pressing debts. The pilot with five men to man the vessel were ordered to proceed with the Griffin to Niagara, and return with all imaginable speed and join La Salle at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, near the southern shore of Lake Michigan. The Griffin did not go to Green Bay City, as many writers have assumed in hasty perusals of the original authorities, or even penetrate the body of water known as Green Bay beyond the chain of islands at its mouth.

The resolution of La Salle, taken, it seems, on the spur of the moment, to send his ship back down the lakes, and prosecute his voyage the rest of the way to the head of Lake Michigan in frail birchen canoes, was a most unfortunate measure. It delayed his discoveries two years, brought severe hardships upon himself and greatly embarrassed all his future plans. The Griffin itself was lost, with all her cargo, valued at sixty thousand livres. She, nor her crew, was ever heard of after leaving the Pottawatomie Islands. What became of the ship and men in charge remains to this day a mystery, or veiled in a cloud of conjecture. La Salle himself, says Francis Parkman, "grew into a settled conviction that the Griffin had been treacherously sunk by the pilot and sailors to whom he had intrusted her; and he thought he had, in after-years, found evidence that the authors of the crime, laden with the merchandise they had taken from her, had reached the Mississippi and ascended it, hoping to join Du Shut, the famous chief of the Coureurs de Bois, and enrich themselves by traffic with the northern tribes.*

The following is, substantially, Hennepin's account of La Salle's canoe voyage from the mouth of Green Bay south, along the shore of Lake Michigan, past Milwaukee and Chicago, and around the southern end of the lake; thence north along the eastern shore to the mouth of the St. Joseph River; thence up the St. Joseph to South Bend, making the portage here to the head-waters of the Kankakee; thence down the Kankakee and Illinois through Peoria Lake, with an account of the building of Fort Crevecoeur. Hennepin's narrative is full of interesting detail, and contains many interesting observations upon the condition of the country, the native inhabitants as they appeared nearly two hundred years ago. The privation and suffering to which La Salle and his party were exposed in navigating Lake Michigan at that early day, and late in the fall of the year, when the waters were vexed with

* Discovery of the Great West, p. 169.

tempestuous storms, illustrate the courage and daring of the undertaking.

Their suffering did not terminate with their voyage upon the lake. Difficulties of another kind were experienced on the St. Joseph, Kankakee and Illinois Rivers. Hennepin's is, perhaps, the first detailed account we have of this part of the "Great West," and is therefore of great interest and value on this account.

"We left the Pottawatomies to continue our voyage, being fourteen men in all, in four canoes. I had charge of the smallest, which carried five hundredweight and two men. My companions being recently from Europe, and for that reason being unskilled in the management of these kind of boats, its whole charge fell upon me in stormy weather.

"The canoes were laden with a smith's forge, utensils, tools for carpenters, joiners and sawyers, besides our goods and arms. We steered to the south toward the mainland, from which the Pottawatomie Islands are distant some forty leagues; but about midway, and in the night time, we were greatly endangered by a sudden storm. The waves dashed into our canoes, and the night was so dark we had great difficulty in keeping our canoes together. The daylight coming on, we reached the shore, where we remained for four days, waiting for the lake to grow calm. In the meantime our Indian hunter went in quest of game, but killed nothing other than a porcupine; this, however, made our Indian corn more relishing. The weather becoming fair, we resumed our voyage, rowing all day and well into the night, along the western coast of the Lake of the Illinois. The wind again grew to fresh, and we landed upon a rocky beach where we had nothing to protect ourselves against a storm of snow and rain except the clothing on our persons. We remained here two days for the sea to go down, having made a little fire from wood cast ashore by the waves. We proceeded on our voyage, and toward evening the winds again forced us to a beach covered with rushes, where we remained three days; and in the meantime our provisions, consisting only of pumpkins and Indian corn purchased from the Pottawatomies, entirely gave out. Our canoes were so heavily laden that we could not carry provisions with us, and we were compelled to rely on bartering for such supplies on our way. We left this dismal place, and after twelve leagues rowing came to another Pottawatomie village, whose inhabitants stood upon the beach to receive us. But M. La Salle refused to let anyone land, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, fearing some of his men might run away. We were in such great peril that La Salle flung himself into the water, after we had gone some three leagues farther,

and with the aid of his three men carried the canoe of which he had charge to the shore, upon their shoulders, otherwise it would have been broken to pieces by the waves. We were obliged to do the same with the other canoes. I, myself, carried good Father Gabriel upon my back, his age being so well advanced as not to admit of his venturing in the water. We took ourselves to a piece of rising ground to avoid surprise, as we had no manner of acquaintance with the great number of savages whose village was near at hand. We sent three men into the village to buy provisions, under protection of the calumet or pipe of peace, which the Indians at Pottawatomie Islands had presented us as a means of introduction to, and a measure of safety against, other tribes that we might meet on our way."

The calumet has always been a symbol of amity among all the Indian tribes of North America, and so uniformly used by them in all their negotiations with their own race, and Europeans as well; and Father Hennepin's description of it, and the respect that is accorded to its presence, are so truthful that we here insert his account of it at length:

"This calumet," says Father Hennepin, "is the most mysterious thing among the savages, for it is used in all important transactions. It is nothing else, however, than a large tobacco pipe, made of red, black, or white stone. The head is highly polished, and the quill or stem is usually about two feet in length, made of a pretty strong reed or cane, decorated with highly colored feathers interlaced with locks of women's hair. Wings of gaudily plumaged birds are tied to it, making the calumet look like the wand of Mercury, or staff which ambassadors of state formerly carried when they went to conduct treaties of peace. The stem is sheathed in the skin of the neck of birds called '*Huars*' (probably the loon), which are as large as our geese, and spotted with white and black; or else with those of a duck (the little wood duck whose neck presents a beautiful contrast of colors) that make their nests upon trees, although the water is their ordinary element, and whose feathers are of many different colors. However, every tribe ornament their calumets according to their own fancy, with the feathers of such birds as they may have in their own country.

"A pipe, such as I have described, is a pass of safe conduct among all the allies of the tribe which has given it; and in all embassies it is carried as a symbol of peace, and is always respected as such, for the savages believe some great misfortune would speedily befall them if they violated the public faith of the calumet. All their enterprises, declarations of war, treaties of peace, as well as all of the rest of their ceremonies, are sealed with the calumet. The pipe is filled with the best

tobacco they have, and then it is presented to those with whom they are about to conduct an important affair; and after they have smoked out of it, the one offering it does the same. I would have perished," concludes Hennepin, "had it not been for the calumet. Our three men, carrying the calumet and being well armed, went to the little village about three leagues from the place where we landed; they found no one at home, for the inhabitants, having heard that we refused to land at the other village, supposed we were enemies, and had abandoned their habitations. In their absence our men took some of their corn, and left instead, some goods, to let them know we were neither their enemies nor robbers. Twenty of the inhabitants of this village came to our encampment on the beach, armed with axes, small guns, bows, and a sort of club, which, in their language, means a head-breaker. La Salle, with four well-armed men, advanced toward them for the purpose of opening a conversation. He requested them to come near to us, saying he had a party of hunters out who might come across them and take their lives. They came forward and took seats at the foot of an eminence, where we were encamped; and La Salle amused them with the relation of his voyage, which he informed them he had undertaken for their advantage; and thus occupied their time until the arrival of the three men who had been sent out with the calumet; on seeing which the savages gave a great shout, arose to their feet and danced about. We excused our men from having taken some of their corn, and informed them that we had left its true value in goods; they were so well pleased with this that they immediately sent for more corn, and on the next day they made us a gift of as much as we could conveniently find room for in our canoes.

"The next day morning the old men of the tribe came to us with their calumet of peace, and entertained us with a free offering of wild goats, which their own hunters had taken. In return, we presented them our thanks, accompanied with some axes, knives, and several little toys for their wives, with all which they were very much pleased.

"We left this place and continued our voyage along the coast of the lake, which, in places, is so steep that we often found it difficult to obtain a landing; and the wind was so violent as to oblige us to carry our canoes sometimes upon top of the bluff, to prevent their being dashed in pieces. The stormy weather lasted four days, causing us much suffering; for every time we made the shore we had to wade in the water, carrying our effects and canoes upon our shoulders. The water being very cold, most of us were taken sick. Our provisions again failed us, which, with the fatigues of rowing, made old Father Gabriel faint away in such a manner that we despaired of his life.

With a use of a decoction of hyacinth I had with me, and which I found of great service on our voyage, he was restored to his senses. We had no other subsistence but a handful of corn per man every twenty-four hours, which we parched or boiled; and, although reduced to such scanty diet, we rowed our canoes almost daily, from morning to night. Our men found some hawthorns and other wild berries, of which they ate so freely that most of them were taken sick, and we imagined that they were poisoned.

"Yet the more we suffered, the more, by God's grace, did I become stronger, so that I could outrow the other canoes. Being in great distress, He, who takes care of his meanest creatures, provided us with an unexpected relief. We saw over the land a great many ravens and eagles circling in mid-air; from whence we conjectured there was prey near by. We landed, and, upon search, found the half of a wild goat which the wolves had strangled. This provision was very acceptable, and the rudest of our men could not but praise a kind Providence, who took such particular care of us.

"Having thus refreshed ourselves, we continued our voyage directly to the southern part of the lake, every day the country becoming finer and the climate more temperate. On the 16th of October we fell in with abundance of game. Our Indian hunter killed several deer and wild goats, and our men a great many big fat turkey-cocks, with which we regaled ourselves for several days. On the 18th we came to the farther end of the lake.* Here we landed, and our men were sent out to prospect the locality, and found great quantities of ripe grapes, the fruit of which were as large as damask plums. We cut down the trees to gather the grapes, out of which we made pretty good wine, which we put into gourds, used as flasks, and buried them in the sand to keep the contents from turning sour. Many of the trees here are loaded with vines, which, if cultivated, would make as good wine as any in Europe. The fruit was all the more relishing to us, because we wanted bread."

Other travelers besides Hennepin, passing this locality at an early day, also mention the same fact. It would seem, therefore, that Lake Michigan had the same modifying influence upon, and equalized the temperature of, its eastern shore, rendering it as famous for its wild fruits and grapes, two hundred years ago, as it has since become noted for the abundance and perfection of its cultivated varieties.

"Our men discovered prints of men's feet. The men were ordered

* From the description given of the country, the time occupied, and forest growth, the voyagers must now be eastward of Michigan City, and where the lake shore trends more rapidly to the north.

to be upon guard and make no noise. In spite of this precaution, one of our men, finding a bear upon a tree, shot him dead and dragged him into camp. La Salle was very angry at this indiscretion, and, to avoid surprise, placed sentinels at the canoes, under which our effects had been put for protection against the rain. There was a hunting party of Fox Indians from the vicinity of Green Bay, about one hundred and twenty in number, encamped near to us, who, having heard the noise of the gun of the man who shot the bear, became alarmed, and sent out some of their men to discover who we were. These spies, creeping upon their bellies, and observing great silence, came in the night-time and stole the coat of La Salle's footman and some goods secreted under the canoes. The sentinel, hearing a noise, gave the alarm, and we all ran to our arms. On being discovered, and thinking our numbers were greater than we really were, they cried out, in the dark, that they were friends. We answered, friends did not visit at such unseasonable hours, and that their actions were more like those of robbers, who designed to plunder and kill us. Their headsmen replied that they heard the noise of our gun, and, as they knew that none of the neighboring tribes possessed firearms, they supposed we were a war party of Iroquois, come with the design of murdering them; but now that they learned we were Frenchmen from Canada, whom they loved as their own brethren, they would anxiously wait until daylight, so that they could smoke out of our calumet. This is a compliment among the savages, and the highest mark they can give of their affection.

"We appeared satisfied with their reasons, and gave leave to four of their old men, only, to come into our camp, telling them we would not permit a greater number, as their young men were much given to stealing, and that we would not suffer such indignities. Accordingly, four of their old men came among us; we entertained them until morning, when they departed. After they were gone, we found out about the robbery of the canoes, and La Salle, well knowing the genius of the savages, saw, if he allowed this affront to pass without resenting it, that we would be constantly exposed to a renewal of like indignities. Therefore, it was resolved to exact prompt satisfaction. La Salle, with four of his men, went out and captured two of the Indian hunters. One of the prisoners confessed the robbery, with the circumstances connected with it. The thief was detained, and his comrade was released and sent to his band to tell their headsmen that the captive in custody would be put to death unless the stolen property were returned.

"The savages were greatly perplexed at La Salle's peremptory mes-

sage. They could not comply, for they had cut up the goods and coat and divided among themselves the pieces and the buttons; they therefore resolved to rescue their man by force. The next day, October 30, they advanced to attack us. The peninsula we were encamped on was separated from the forest where the savages lay by a little sandy plain, on which and near the wood were two or three eminences. La Salle determined to take possession of the most prominent of these elevations, and detached five of his men to occupy it, following himself, at a short distance, with all of his force, every one having rolled their coats about the left arm, which was held up as a protection against the arrows of the savages. Only eight of the enemy had fire-arms. The savages were frightened at our advance, and their young men took behind the trees, but their captains stood their ground, while we moved forward and seized the knoll. I left the two other Franciscans reading the usual prayers, and went about among the men exhorting them to their duty; I had been in some battles and sieges in Europe, and was not afraid of these savages, and La Salle was highly pleased with my exhortations, and their influence upon his men. When I considered what might be the result of the quarrel, and how much more Christian-like it would be to prevent the effusion of blood, and end the difficulty in a friendly manner, I went toward the oldest savage, who, seeing me unarmed, supposed I came with designs of a mediator, and received me with civility. In the meantime one of our men observed that one of the savages had a piece of the stolen cloth wrapped about his head, and he went up to the savage and snatched the cloth away. This vigorous action so much terrified the savages that, although they were near six score against eleven, they presented me with the pipe of peace, which I received. M. La Salle gave his word that they might come to him in security. Two of their old men came forward, and in a speech disapproved the conduct of their young men; that they could not restore the goods taken, but that, having been cut to pieces, they could only return the articles which were not spoiled, and pay for the rest. The orators presented, with their speeches, some garments made of beaver skins, to appease the wrath of M. La Salle, who, frowning a little, informed them that while he designed to wrong no one, he did not intend others should affront or injure him; but, inasmuch as they did not approve what their young men had done, and were willing to make restitution for the same, he would accept their gifts and become their friend. The conditions were fully complied with, and peace happily concluded without farther hostility.

"The day was spent in dancing, feasting and speech-making. The chief of the band had taken particular notice of the behavior of the

Franciscans. ‘These gray-coats,’* said the chief of the Foxes, ‘we value very much. They go barefooted as well as we. They scorn our beaver gowns, and decline all other presents. They do not carry arms to kill us. They flatter and make much of our children, and give them knives and other toys without expecting any reward. Those of our tribe who have been to Canada tell us that Onnotio (so they call the Governor) loves them very much, and that the Fathers of the Gown have given up all to come and see us. Therefore, you who are captain over all these men, be pleased to leave with us one of these gray-coats, whom we will conduct to our village when we shall have killed what we design of the buffaloes. Thou art also master of these warriors; remain with us, instead of going among the Illinois, who, already advised of your coming, are resolved to kill you and all of your soldiers. And how can you resist so powerful nation?’

“The day November 1st we again embarked on the lake, and came to the mouth of the river of the Miamis, which comes from the south-east and falls into the lake.”

* While the Jesuit Fathers wore black gowns as a distinctive mark of their sect, the Recollects, or Franciscan missionaries, wore coats of gray.

CHAPTER X.

THE SEVERAL MIAMIS—LA SALLE'S VOYAGE DOWN THE ILLINOIS.

MUCH confusion has arisen because, at different periods, the name of "Miami" has been applied to no less than five different rivers, viz.: The St. Joseph, of Lake Michigan; the Maumee, often designated as the Miami of the Lakes, to distinguish it from the Miami which falls into the Ohio River below Cincinnati; then there is the Little Miami of the Ohio emptying in above its greater namesake; and finally the Wabash, which with more propriety bore the name of the "River of the Miamis." The French, it is assumed, gave the name "Miami" to the river emptying into Lake Michigan, for the reason that there was a village of that tribe on its banks before and at the time of La Salle's first visit, as already noted on page 24. The name was not of long duration, for it was soon exchanged for that of St. Joseph, by which it has ever since been known. La Hontan is the last authority who refers to it by the name of Miami. Shortly after the year named, the date being now unknown, a Catholic mission was established up the river, and, Charlevoix says, about six leagues below the portage, at South Bend, and called the Mission of St. Joseph; and from this circumstance, we may safely infer, the river acquired the same name. It is not known, either, by whom the Mission of St. Joseph was organized; very probably, however, by Father Claude Allouez. This good man, and to whose writings the people of the west are so largely indebted for many valuable historical reminiscences, seems to have been forgotten in the respect that is showered upon other more conspicuous though less meritorious characters. The Mission of the Immaculate Conception, after Marquette's death, remained unoccupied for the space of two years, then Claude Jean Allouez received orders to proceed thither from the Mission of St. James, at the town of Maskoutens, on Fox River, Wisconsin. Leaving in October, 1676, on account of an exceptionally early winter, he was compelled to delay his journey until the following February, when he again started; reaching Lake Michigan on the eve of St. Joseph, he called the lake after this saint. Embarking on the lake on the 23d of March, and coasting along the western shore, after numerous delays occasioned by ice and storm, he arrived at Chicago River. He then made the portage and entered the

Kaskaskia village, which was probably near Peoria Lake, on the 8th of April, 1677. The Indians gave him a very cordial reception, and flocked from all directions to the town to hear the "Black Gown" relate the truths of Christianity. For the glorification of God and the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, Allouez "erected, in the midst of the village, a cross twenty-five feet high, chanting the *Vexilla Regis* in the presence of an admiring and respectful throng of Indians; he covered it with garlands of beautiful flowers."* Father Allouez did not remain but a short time at the mission; leaving it that spring he returned in 1678, and continued there until La Salle's arrival in the winter of 1679-80. The next succeeding decade Allouez passed either at this mission or at the one on St. Joseph's River, on the eastern side of Lake Michigan, where he died in 1690. Bancroft says: "Allouez has imperishably connected his name with the progress of discovery in the West; unhonored among us now, he was not inferior in zeal and ability to any of the great missionaries of his time."

We resume Hennepin's narrative:

"We had appointed this place (the mouth of the St. Joseph) for our rendezvous before leaving the outlet of Green Bay, and expected to meet the twenty men we had left at Mackinaw, who, being ordered to come by the eastern coast of the lake, had a much shorter cut than we, who came by the western side; besides this, their canoes were not so heavily laden as ours. Still, we found no one here, nor any signs that they had been here before us.†

"It was resolved to advise M. La Salle that it was imprudent to remain here any longer for the absent men, and expose ourselves to the hardships of winter, when it would be doubtful if we could find the Illinois in their villages, as then they would be divided into families, and scattered over the country to subsist more conveniently. We further represented that the game might fail us, in which event we must certainly perish with hunger; whereas, if we went forward, we would find enough corn among the Illinois, who would rather supply

* "Allouez' Journal," published in Shea's "Discovery on Exploration of the Mississippi Valley."

† In some works, the Geological Surveys of Indiana for 1873, p. 458, among others, it is erroneously assumed that La Salle was the discoverer of the St. Joseph River. While Fathers Hennepin and Zenobe Membre, who were with La Salle, may be the only accessible authors who have described it, the stream and its location was well known to La Salle and to them, as appears from their own account of it before they had ever seen it. Before leaving Mackinaw, Tonti was ordered to hunt up the deserters from, and to bring in the tardy traders belonging to, La Salle's party, and conduct them to the mouth of the St. Joseph. The pilot of the Griffin was under instruction to bring her there. Indeed, the conduct of the whole expedition leaves no room to doubt that the whole route to the Illinois River, by way of the St. Joseph and the Kankakee portage, was well known at Mackinaw, and definitely fixed upon by La Salle, at least before leaving the latter place.

fourteen men than thirty-two with provisions. We said further that it would be quite impossible, if we delayed longer, to continue the voyage until the winter was over, because the rivers would be frozen over and we could not make use of our canoes. Notwithstanding these reasons, M. La Salle thought it necessary to remain for the rest of the men, as we would be in no condition to appear before the Illinois and treat with them with our present small force, whom they would meet with scorn. That it would be better to delay our entry into their country, and in the meantime try to meet with some of their nation, learn their language, and gain their good will by presents. La Salle concluded his discourse with the declaration that, although all of his men might run away, as for himself, he would remain alone with his Indian hunter, and find means to maintain the three missionaries—meaning me and my two clerical brethren. Having come to this conclusion, La Salle called his men together, and advised them that he expected each one to do his duty; that he proposed to build a fort here for the security of the ship and the safety of our goods, and ourselves, too, in case of any disaster. None of us, at this time, knew that our ship had been lost. The men were quite dissatisfied at La-Salle's course, but his reasons therefor were so many that they yielded, and agreed to entirely follow his directions.

“Just at the mouth of the river was an eminence with a kind of plateau, naturally fortified. It was quite steep, of a triangular shape, defended on two sides by the river, and on the other by a deep ravine which the water had washed out. We felled the trees that grew on this hill, and cleared from it the bushes for the distance of two musket shot. We began to build a redoubt about forty feet long by eighty broad, with great square pieces of timber laid one upon the other, and then cut a great number of stakes, some twenty feet long, to drive into the ground on the river side, to make the fort inaccessible in that direction. We were employed the whole of the month of November in this work, which was very fatiguing,—having no other food than the bears our savage killed. These animals are here very abundant, because of the great quantity of grapes they find in this vicinity. Their flesh was so fat and luscious that our men grew weary of it, and desired to go themselves and hunt for wild goats. La Salle denied them that liberty, which made some murmurs among the men, and they went unwillingly to their work. These annoyances, with the near approach of winter, together with the apprehension that his ship was lost, gave La Salle a melancholy which he resolutely tried to but could not conceal.

“We made a hut wherein we performed divine service every Sun-

day ; and Father Gabriel and myself, who preached alternately, carefully selected such texts as were suitable to our situation, and fit to inspire us with courage, concord, and brotherly love. Our exhortations produced good results, and deterred our men from their meditated desertion. We sounded the mouth of the river and found a sand-bar, on which we feared our expected ship might strike ; we marked out a channel through which the vessel might safely enter by attaching buoys, made of inflated bear-skins, fastened to long poles driven into the bed of the lake. Two men were also sent back to Mackinac to await there the return of the ship, and serve as pilots.*

“ M. Tonti arrived on the 20th of November with two canoes, laden with stags and deer, which were a welcome refreshment to our men. He did not bring more than about one-half of his men, having left the rest on the opposite side of the lake, within three days’ journey of the fort. La Salle was angry with him on this account, because he was afraid the men would run away. Tonti’s party informed us that the Griffin had not put into Mackinaw, according to orders, and that they had heard nothing of her since our departure, although they had made inquiries of the savages living on the coast of the lake. This confirmed the suspicion, or rather the belief, that the vessel had been cast away. However, M. La Salle continued work on the building of the fort, which was at last completed and called Fort Miamis.

“ The winter was drawing nigh, and La Salle, fearful that the ice would interrupt his voyage, sent M. Tonti back to hurry forward the men he had left, and to command them to come to him immediately ; but, meeting with a violent storm, their canoes were driven against the beach and broken to pieces, and Tonti’s men lost their guns and equipage, and were obliged to return to us overland. A few days after this all our men arrived except two, who had deserted. We prepared at once to resume our voyage ; rains having fallen that melted the ice and made the rivers navigable.

“ On the 3d of December, 1679, we embarked, being in all thirty-three men, in eight canoes. We left the lake of the Illinois and went up the river of the Miamis, in which we had previously made soundings. We made about five-and-twenty leagues southward, but failed to discover the place where we were to land, and carry our canoes and effects into the river of the Illinois, which falls into that of the Meschasipi, that is, in the language of the Illinois, the great river. We had already gone beyond the place of the portage, and, not knowing where we were, we thought proper to remain there, as we were expecting M. La Salle, who had taken to the land to view the country.

* This is the beginning, at what is now known as Benton Harbor, Michigan.

We staid here quite a while, and, La Salle failing to appear, I went a distance into the woods with two men, who fired off their guns to notify him of the place where we were. In the meantime two other men went higher up the river, in canoes, in search of him. We all returned toward evening, having vainly endeavored to find him. The next day I went up the river myself, but, hearing nothing of him, I came back, and found our men very much perplexed, fearing he was lost. However, about four o'clock in the afternoon M. La Salle returned to us, having his face and hands as black as pitch. He carried two beasts, as big as muskrats, whose skin was very fine, and like ermine. He had killed them with a stick, as they hung by their tails to the branches of the trees.

“He told us that the marshes he had met on his way had compelled him to bring a large compass; and that, being much delayed by the snow, which fell very fast, it was past midnight before he arrived upon the banks of the river, where he fired his gun twice, and, hearing no answer, he concluded that we had gone higher up the river, and had, therefore, marched that way. He added that, after three hours' march, he saw a fire upon a little hill, whither he went directly and hailed us several times; but, hearing no reply, he approached and found no person near the fire, but only some dry grass, upon which a man had laid a little while before, as he conjectured, because the bed was still warm. He supposed that a savage had been occupying it, who fled upon his approach, and was now hid in ambuscade near by. La Salle called out loudly to him in two or three languages, saying that he need not be afraid of him, and that he was agoing to lie in his bed. La Salle received no answer. To guard against surprise, La Salle cut bushes and placed them to obstruct the way, and sat down by the fire, the smoke of which blackened his hands and face, as I have already observed. Having warmed and rested himself, he laid down under the tree upon the dry grass the savage had gathered and slept well, notwithstanding the frost and snow. Father Gabriel and I desired him to keep with his men, and not to expose himself in the future, as the success of our enterprise depended solely on him, and he promised to follow our advice. Our savage, who remained behind to hunt, finding none of us at the portage, came higher up the river, to where we were, and told us we had missed the place. We sent all the canoes back under his charge except one, which I retained for M. La Salle, who was so weary that he was obliged to remain there that night. I made a little hut with mats, constructed with marsh rushes, in which we laid down together for the night. By an unhappy accident our cabin took fire, and we were very near being burned alive after we had gone to sleep.”

Here follows Hennepin's description of the Kankakee portage, and of the marshy grounds about the headwaters of this stream, as already quoted on page 24.

"Having passed through the marshes, we came to a vast prairie, in which nothing grows but grasses, which were at this time dry and burnt, because the Miamis set the grasses on fire every year, in hunting for wild oxen (buffalo), as I shall mention farther on. We found no game, which was a disappointment to us, as our provisions had begun to fail. Our men traveled about sixty miles without killing anything other than a lean stag, a small wild goat, a few swan and two bustards, which were but a scanty subsistence for two and thirty men. Most of the men were become so weary of this laborious life that, were it practicable, they would have run away and joined the savages, who, as we inferred by the great fires which we saw on the prairies, were not very far from us. There must be an innumerable quantity of wild cattle in this country, since the ground here is everywhere covered with their horns. The Miamis hunt them toward the latter end of autumn."*

That part of the Illinois River above the Desplaines is called the Kankakee, which is a corruption of its original Indian name. St. Cosme, the narrative of whose voyage down the Illinois River, by way of Chicago, in 1699, and found in Dr. Shea's work of "Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi," refers to it as the The-a-li-ke, "which is the real river of the Illinois, and (says) that which we descended (the Desplaines) was only a branch." Father Marest, in his letter of November 9, 1712, narrating a journey he had previously made from Kaskaskia up to the Mission of St. Joseph, says of the Illinois River: "We transported all there was in the canoe toward the source of the Illinois (Indian), which they call Hau-ki-ki." Father Charlevoix, who descended the Kankakee from the portage, in his letter, dated at the source of the river Theakiki, September 17, 1721, says: "This morning I walked a league farther in the meadow, having my feet almost always in the water; afterward I met with a kind of a pool or marsh, which had a communication with several others of different sizes, but the largest was about a hundred paces in circuit; these are the sources of the river The-a-ki-ki, which, by a corrupted pronunciation, our Indians call Ki-a-ki-ki. Theak signifies a wolf, in what language I do not remember, but the river bears that name because the Mahinganş (Mohicans), who were likewise called wolves, had formerly

* Hennepin and his party were not aware of the migratory habits of the buffalo; and that their scarcity on the Kankakee in the winter months was because the herds had gone southward to warmer latitude and better pasturage.

taken refuge on its banks." * The Mohicans were of the Algonquin stock, anciently living east of the Hudson River, where they had been so persecuted and nearly destroyed by the implacable Iroquois that their tribal integrity was lost, and they were dispersed in small families over the west, seeking protection in isolated places, or living at sufferance among their Algonquin kindred. They were brave, faithful to the extreme, famous scouts, and successful hunters. La Salle, appreciating these valuable traits, usually kept a few of them in his employ. The "savage," or "hunter," so often referred to by Hennepin, in the extracts we have taken from his journal, was a Mohican.

In a report made to the late Governor Ninian Edwards, in 1812, by John Hays, interpreter and Coureur de Bois of the routes, rivers and Indian villages in the then Illinois Territory, Mr. Hays calls the Kankakee the *Quin-que-que*, which was probably its French-Indian name.† Col. Guerdon S. Hubbard, who for many years, dating back as early as 1819, was a trader, and commanded great influence with the bands of Pottawatomies, claiming the Kankakee as their country, informs the writer that the Pottawatomic name of the Kankakee is *Ky-an-ke-a-kee*, meaning "the river of the wonderful or beautiful land,—as it really is, westward of the marshes. "A-kee," "Ah-ke" and "Aki," in the Algonquin dialect, signifies earth or land.

The name Desplaines, like that of the Kankakee, has undergone changes in the progress of time. On a French map of Louisiana, in 1717, the Desplaines is laid down as the Chicago River. Just after Great Britain had secured the possessions of the French east of the Mississippi, by conquest and treaty, and when the British authorities were keenly alive to everything pertaining to their newly acquired possessions, an elaborate map, collated from the most authentic sources by Eman Bowen, geographer to His Majesty King George the Third, was issued, and on this map the Desplaines is laid down as the Illinois, or Chicago River. Many early French writers speak of it, as they do of the Kankakee above the confluence, as the "River of the Illinois." Its French Canadian name is *Au Plein*, now changed to *Desplaines*, or *Rivière Au Plein*, or *Despleines*, from a variety of hard maple,—that is to say, sugar tree. The Pottawatomies called it *Sheshik-mao-shi-ke Se-pe*, signifying the river of the tree from which a great quantity of sap flows in the spring.‡ It has also been sanctified by Father Zenobe Membre with the name Divine River, and by authors

* Charlevoix' "Journal of a Voyage to America," vol. 2, p. 184. London edition, 1761.

† "History of Illinois and Life of Governor Edwards," by his son Ninian W. Edwards, p. 98.

‡ Long's Second Expedition, vol. 1, p. 173.

of early western gazetteers, vulgarized by the appellation of *Kickapoo Creek*.

Below the confluence of the Desplaines, the Illinois River was, by La Salle, named the Seignelay, as a mark of his esteem for the brilliant young Colbert, who succeeded his father as Minister of the Marine. On the great map, prepared by the engineer Franquelin in 1684, it is called River Des Illinois, or Macoupins. The name Illinois, which, fortunately, it will always bear, was derived from the name of the confederated tribes who anciently dwelt upon its banks.

"We continued our course," says Hennepin, "upon this river (the Kankakee and Illinois) very near the whole month of December, at the latter end of which we arrived at a village of the Illinois, which lies near a hundred and thirty leagues from Fort Miamis, on the Lake of the Illinois. We suffered greatly on the passage, for the savages having set fire to the grass on the prairie, the wild cattle had fled, and we did not kill one. Some wild turkeys were the only game we secured. God's providence supported us all the while, and as we meditated upon the extremities to which we were reduced, regarding ourselves without hope of relief, we found a very large wild ox sticking fast in the mud of the river. We killed him, and with much difficulty dragged him out of the mud. This was a great refreshment to our men; it revived their courage,—being so timely and unexpectedly relieved, they concluded that God approved our undertaking.

The great village of the Illinois, where La Salle's party had now arrived, has been located with such certainty by Francis Parkman, the learned historical writer, as to leave no doubt of its identity. It was on the north side of the Illinois River, above the mouth of the Vermillion and below Starved Rock, near the little village of Utica, in La Salle county, Illinois.*

"We found," continues Father Hennepin, "no one in the village, as we had foreseen, for the Illinois, according to their custom, had divided themselves into small hunting parties. Their absence caused great perplexity amongst us, for we wanted provisions, and yet did not dare to meddle with the Indian corn the savages had laid under ground for their subsistence and for seed. However, our necessity being very great, and it being impossible to continue our voyage without any provisions, M. La Salle resolved to take about forty bushels of corn, and hoped to appease the savages with presents. We embarked again, with these fresh provisions, and continued to fall down the river,

* Mr. Parkman gives an interesting account of his recent visit to, and the identification of, the locality, in an elaborate note in his "Discovery of the Great West," pp. 221, 222.

which runs directly toward the south. On the 1st of January we went through a lake (Peoria Lake) formed by the river, about seven leagues long and one broad. The savages call that place Pimeteoui, that is, in their tongue, 'a place where there is an abundance of fat animals.'*

Resuming Hennepin's narrative: "The current brought us, in the meantime, to the Indian camp, and M. La Salle was the first one to land, followed closely by his men, which increased the consternation of the savages, whom we easily might have defeated. As it was not our design, we made a halt to give them time to recover themselves and to see that we were not enemies. Most of the savages who had run away upon our landing, understanding that we were friends, returned; but some others did not come back for three or four days, and after they had learned that we had smoked the calumet.

"I must observe here, that the hardest winter does not last longer than two months in this charming country, so that on the 15th of January there came a sudden thaw, which made the rivers navigable, and the weather as mild as it is in France in the middle of the spring. M. La Salle, improving this fair season, desired me to go down the river with him to choose a place proper to build a fort. We selected an eminence on the bank of the river, defended on that side by the river, and on two others by deep ravines, so that it was accessible only on one side. We cast a trench to join the two ravines, and made the eminence steep on that side, supporting the earth with great pieces of timber. We made a rough palisade to defend ourselves in case the Indians should attack us while we were engaged in building the fort; but no one offering to disturb us, we went on diligently with our work.

*Louis Beck, in his "Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri," p. 119, says: "The Indians call the lake Pin-a-tah-wee, on account of its being frequently covered with a scum which has a greasy appearance." Owing to the rank growth of aquatic plants in the Illinois River before they were disturbed by the frequent passage of boats, and to the grasses on the borders of the stream and the adjacent marshes, and the decay taking place in both under the scorching rays of the summer's sun, the surface of the river and lake were frequently coated with this vegetable decomposition. Prof. Schoolcraft ascended the Illinois River, and was at Fort Clark on the 19th of August, 1821. Under this date is the following extract from his "Narrative Journal": "About 9 o'clock in the morning we came to a part of the river which was covered for several hundred yards with a scum or froth of the most intense green color, and emitting a nauseous exhalation that was almost insupportable. We were compelled to pass through it. The fine green color of this somewhat compact scum, resembling that of verdgris, led us at the moment to conjecture that it might derive this character from some mineral spring or vein in the bed of the river, but we had reasons afterward to regret this opinion. I directed one of the canoe men to collect a bottle of this mother of miasmata for preservation, but its fermenting nature baffled repeated attempts to keep it corked. We had daily seen instances of the powerful tendency of these waters to facilitate the decomposition of floating vegetation, but had not before observed any in so mature and complete a state of putrefaction. It might certainly justify an observer less given to fiction than the ancient poets, to people this stream with the Hydra, as were the pestilential-breeding marshes of Italy."—Schoolcraft's "Central Mississippi Valley," p. 305.

When the fort was half finished, M. La Salle lodged himself, with M. Tonti, in the middle of the fortification, and every one took his post. We placed the forge on the curtain on the side of the wood, and laid in a great quantity of coal for that purpose. But our greatest difficulty was to build a boat,—our carpenters having deserted us, we did not know what to do. However, as timber was abundant and near at hand, we told our men that if any of them would undertake to saw boards for building the bark, we might surmount all other difficulties. Two of the men undertook the task, and succeeded so well that we began to build a bark, the keel whereof was forty-two feet long. Our men went on so briskly with the work, that on the 1st of March our boat was half built, and all the timber ready prepared for furnishing it. Our fort was also very near finished, and we named it ‘Fort Creve-cœur,’ because the desertion of our men, and other difficulties we had labored under, had almost ‘broken our hearts.’*

“M. La Salle,” says Hennepin, “no longer doubted that the Griffin was lost; but neither this nor other difficulties dejected him. His great courage buoyed him up, and he resolved to return to Fort Frontenac by land, notwithstanding the snow, and the great dangers attending so long a journey. We had many private conferences, wherein it was decided that he should return to Fort Frontenac with three men, to bring with him the necessary articles to proceed with the discovery, while I, with two men, should go in a canoe to the River Meschiasipi, and endeavor to obtain the friendship of the nations who inhabited its banks.

“M. La Salle left M. Tonti to command in Fort Creve-cœur, and ordered our carpenter to prepare some thick boards to plank the deck of our ship, in the nature of a parapet, to cover it against the arrows of the savages in case they should shoot at us from the shore. Then, calling his men together, La Salle requested them to obey M. Tonti’s orders in his absence, to live in Christian union and charity; to be courageous and firm in their designs; and above all not to give credit to false reports the savages might make, either of him or of their comrades who accompanied Father Hennepin.”

Hennepin and his two companions, with a supply of trinkets suitable

* “Fort Creve-cœur,” or the *Broken Heart*, was built on the east side of the Illinois River, a short distance below the outlet of Peoria Lake. It is so located on the great map of Franquelin, made at Quebec in 1684. There are many indications on this map, going to show that it was constructed largely under the supervision of La-Salle. The fact mentioned by Hennepin, that they went down the river, and that coal was gathered for the supply of the fort, would confirm this theory as to its location; for the outcrop of coal is abundant in the bluffs on the east side of the river below Peoria. There is also a spot in this immediate vicinity that answers well to the site of the fort as described by Fathers Hennepin and Membre.

for the Indian trade, left Fort Crevecoeur for the Mississippi, on the 29th of February, 1680, and were captured by the Sioux, as already stated. From this time to the ultimate discovery and taking possession of the Mississippi and the valleys by La Salle, Father Zenobe Membre was the historian of the expedition.

La Salle started across the country, going up the Illinois and Kankakee, and through the southern part of the present State of Michigan. He reached the Detroit River, ferrying the stream with a raft; he at length stood on Canadian soil. Striking a direct line across the wilderness, he arrived at Lake Erie, near Point Pelee. By this time only one man remained in health, and with his assistance La Salle made a canoe. Embarking in it the party came to Niagara on Easter Monday. Leaving his comrades, who were completely exhausted, La Salle on the 6th of May reached Fort Frontenac, making a journey of over a thousand miles in sixty-five days, "the greatest feat ever performed by a Frenchman in America."*

La Salle found his affairs in great confusion. His creditors had seized upon his estate, including Fort Frontenac. Undaunted by this new misfortune, he confronted his creditors and enemies, pacifying the former and awing the latter into silence. He gathered the fragments of his scattered property and in a short time started west with a company of twenty-five men, whom he had recruited to assist in the prosecution of his discoveries. He reached Lake Huron by the way of Lake Simcoe, and shortly afterward arrived at Mackinaw. Here he found that his enemies had been very busy, and had poisoned the minds of the Indians against his designs.

We leave La Salle at Mackinaw to notice some of the occurrences that took place on the Illinois and St. Joseph after he had departed for Fort Frontenac. On this journey, as La Salle passed up the Illinois, he was favorably impressed with Starved Rock as a place presenting strong defenses naturally. He sent word back to Tonti, below Peoria Lake, to take possession of "The Rock" and erect a fortification on its summit. Tonti accordingly came up the river with a part of his available force and began to work upon the new fort. While engaged in this enterprise the principal part of the men remaining at Fort Crevecoeur mutinied. They destroyed the vessel on the stocks, plundered the storehouse, escaped up the Illinois River and appeared before Fort Miami. These deserters demolished Fort Miami and robbed it of goods and furs of La Salle, on deposit there, and then fled out of the country. These misfortunes were soon followed by an incursion of the Iroquois,

* Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West."

who attacked the Illinois in their village near the Starved Rock. Tonti, acting as mediator, came near losing his life at the hand of an infuriated Iroquois warrior, who drove a knife into his ribs. Constantly an object of distrust to the Illinois, who feared he was a spy and friend of the Iroquois, in turn exposed to the jealousy of the Iroquois, who imagined he and his French friends were allies of the Illinois, Tonti remained faithful to his trust until he saw that he could not avert the blow meditated by the Iroquois. Then, with Fathers Zenobe Membre and Gabriel Rebourde, and a few Frenchmen who had remained faithful, he escaped from the enraged Indians and made his way, in a leaky canoe, up the Illinois River. Father Gabriel one fine day left his companions on the river to enjoy a walk in the beautiful groves near by, and while thus engaged, and as he was meditating upon his holy calling, fell into an ambuscade of Kickapoo Indians. The good old man, unconscious of his danger, was instantly knocked down, the scalp torn from his venerable head, and his gray hairs afterward exhibited in triumph by his young murderers as a trophy taken from the crown of an Iroquois warrior. Tonti, with those in his company, pursued his course, passing by Chicago, and thence up the west shore of Lake Michigan. Subsisting on berries, and often on acorns and roots which they dug from the ground, they finally arrived at the Pottawatomie towns. Previous to this they abandoned their canoe and started on foot for the Mission of Green Bay, where they wintered.

La Salle, when he arrived at St. Joseph, found Fort Miamis plundered and demolished. He also learned that the Iroquois had attacked the Illinois. Fearing for the safety of Tonti, he pushed on rapidly, only to find, at Starved Rock, the unmistakable signs of an Indian slaughter. The report was true. The Iroquois had defeated the Illinois and driven them west of the Mississippi. La Salle viewed the wreck of his cherished project, the demolition of the fort, the loss of his peltries, and especially the destruction of his vessel, in that usual calm way peculiar to him; and, although he must have suffered the most intense anguish, no trace of sorrow or indecision appeared on his inflexible countenance. Shortly afterward he returned to Fort Miamis. La Salle occupied his time, until spring, in rebuilding Fort Miamis, holding conferences with the surrounding Indian tribes, and confederating them against future attacks of the Iroquois. He now abandoned the purpose of descending the Mississippi in a sailing vessel, and determined to prosecute his voyage in the ordinary wooden pirogues or canoes.

Tonti was sent forward to Chicago Creek, where he constructed a number of sledges. After other preparations had been made, La Salle

and his party left St. Joseph and came around the southern extremity of the lake. The goods and effects were placed on the sledges prepared by Tonti. La Salle's party consisted of twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Indians. The savages took with them ten squaws and three children, so that the party numbered in all fifty-four persons. They had to make the portage of the Chicago River. After dragging their canoes, sledges, baggage and provisions about eighty leagues over the ice, on the Desplaines and Illinois Rivers, they came to the great Indian town. It was deserted, the savages having gone down the river to Lake Peoria. From Peoria Lake the navigation was open, and embarking, on the 6th of February, they soon arrived at the Mississippi. Here, owing to floating ice, they were delayed till the 13th of the same month. Membre describes the Missouri as follows: "It is full as large as the Mississippi, into which it empties, troubling it so that, from the mouth of the Ozage (Missouri), the water is hardly drinkable. The Indians assured us that this river is formed by many others, and that they ascend it for ten or twelve days to a mountain where it rises; that beyond this mountain is the sea, where they see great ships; that on the river are a great number of large villages. Although this river is very large, the Mississippi does not seem augmented by it, but it pours in so much mud that, from its mouth, the water of the great river, whose bed is also slimy, is more like clear mud than river water, without changing at all till it reaches the sea, a distance of more than three hundred leagues, although it receives seven large rivers, the water of which is very beautiful, and which are almost as large as the Mississippi." From this time, until they neared the mouths of the Mississippi, nothing especially worthy of note occurred. On the 6th of April they came to the place where the river divides itself into three channels. M. La Salle took the western, the Sieur Dautray the southern, and Tonti, accompanied by Membre, followed the middle channel. The three channels were beautiful and deep. The water became brackish, and two leagues farther it became perfectly salt, and advancing on they at last beheld the Gulf of Mexico. La Salle, in a canoe, coasted the borders of the sea, and then the parties assembled on a dry spot of ground not far from the mouth of the river. On the 9th of April, with all the pomp and ceremony of the Holy Catholic Church, La Salle, in the name of the French King, took possession of the Mississippi and all its tributaries. First they chanted the "Vexilla Regis" and "Te Denm," and then, while the assembled voyageurs and their savage attendants fired their muskets and shouted "Vive le Roi," La Salle planted the column, at the same time proclaiming, in a loud voice, "In the name of the Most High, Mighty,

Invincible, and Victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God King of France and of Navarre, Fourteenth of that name, I, this 9th day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, in virtue of the commission of His Majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of His Majesty and his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits, and all the people, nations, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers within the extent of the said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis, otherwise called Ohio, as also along the river Colbert, or Mississippi, and the rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Nadonessious (Sioux), as far as its mouth at the sea, and also to the mouth of the river of Palms, upon the assurance we have had from the natives of these countries that we were the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the river Colbert (Mississippi); hereby protesting against all who may hereafter undertake to invade any or all of these aforesaid countries, peoples or lands, to the prejudice of His Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations dwelling herein. Of which, and of all else that is needful, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the notary here present."

At the foot of the tree to which the cross was attached La Salle caused to be buried a leaden plate, on one side of which were engraven the arms of France, and on the opposite, the following Latin inscription:

LVDOVICUS MAGNUS REGNAT.

NONO APRILIS CIO IOC LXXXII.

ROBERTVS CAVALIER, CVM DOMINO DETONTI LEGATO, R. P. ZENOBIO MEMBRE, RECCOLLECTO, ET VIGINTI GALLIS PRIMVS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILINEORVM PAGO ENAVAGAVIT, EZVQUE OSTIVM FECIT PERVIVM, NONO APRILIS ANNI.

CIO IOC LXXXI.

NOTE.—The following is a translation of the inscription on the leaden plate:

"Louis the Great reigns.

"Robert Cavalier, with Lord Tonti as Lieutenant, R. P. Zenobe Membre, Recollect, and twenty Frenchmen, first navigated this stream from the country of the Illinois, and also passed through its mouth, on the 9th of April, 1682."

After which, La Salle remarked that His Majesty, who was the eldest son of the Holy Catholic Church, would not annex any country to his dominion without giving especial attention to establish the

Christian religion therein. He then proceeded at once to erect a cross, before which the "Vexilla" and "Domine Salvum fac Regem" were sung. The ceremony was concluded by shouting "Vive le Roi!"

Thus was completed the discovery and taking possession of the Mississippi valley. By that indisputable title, the right of discovery, attested by all those formalities recognized as essential by the laws of nations, the manuscript evidence of which was duly certified by a notary public brought along for that purpose, and witnessed by the signatures of La Salle and a number of other persons present on the occasion, France became the owner of all that vast country drained by the Mississippi and its tributaries. Bounded by the Alleghanies on the east, and the Rocky Mountains on the west, and extending from an undefined limit on the north to the burning sands of the Gulf on the south. Embracing within its area every variety of climate, watered with a thousand beautiful streams, containing vast prairies and extensive forests, with a rich and fertile soil that only awaited the husbandman's skill to yield bountiful harvests, rich in vast beds of bituminous coal and deposits of iron, copper and other ores, this magnificent domain was not to become the seat of a religious dogma, enforced by the power of state, but was designed under the hand of God to become the center of civilization,—the heart of the American republic,—where the right of conscience was to be free, without interference of law, and where universal liberty should only be restrained in so far as its unrestrained exercise might conflict with its equal enjoyment by all.

Had France, with the same energy she displayed in discovering Louisiana, retained her grasp upon this territory, the dominant race in the valley of the Mississippi would have been Gallic instead of Anglo-Saxon.

The manner in which France lost this possession in America will be referred to in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

LA SALLE'S RETURN, AND HIS DEATH IN ATTEMPTING A SETTLEMENT ON THE GULF.

LA SALLE and his party returned up the Mississippi. Before they reached Chickasaw Bluffs, La Salle was taken dangerously ill.

Dispatching Tonti ahead to Mackinaw, he remained there under the care of Father Membre. About the end of July he was enabled to proceed, and joined Tonti at Mackinaw, in September. Owing to the threatened invasion of the Iroquois, La Salle postponed his projected trip to France, and passed the winter at Fort St. Louis. From Fort St. Louis, it would seem, La Salle directed a letter to Count Frontenac, giving an account of his voyage to the Mississippi. It is short and historically interesting, and was first published in that rare little volume, Thevenot's "Collection of Voyages," published at Paris in 1687. This letter contains, perhaps, the first description of Chicago Creek and the harbor, and as everything pertaining to Chicago of a historical character is a matter of public interest, we insert La Salle's account. It seems that, even at that early day, almost two centuries ago, the idea of a canal connecting Lake Michigan and the Illinois was a subject of consideration :

"The creek (Chicago Creek) through which we went, from the lake of the Illinois into the Divine River (the Au Plein, or Des Plaines) is so shallow and so greatly exposed to storms that no ship can venture in except in a great calm. Neither is the country between the creek and the Divine River suitable for a canal ; for the prairies between them are submerged after heavy rains, and a canal would be immediately filled up with sand. Besides this, it is not possible to dig into the ground on account of the water, that country being nothing but a marsh. Supposing it were possible, however, to cut a canal, it would be useless, as the Divine River is not navigable for forty leagues together ; that is to say, from that place (the portage) to the village of the Illinois, except for canoes, and these have scarcely water enough in summer time."

The identity of the "River Chicago," of early explorers, with the modern stream of the same name, is clearly established by the map of Franquelin of 1684, as well, also, as by the Memoir of Sieur de Tonti.

The latter had occasion to pass through the Chicago River more frequently than any other person of his time, and his intimate acquaintance with the Indians in the vicinity would necessarily place his declarations beyond the suspicion of a mistake. Referring to his being sent in the fall of 1687, by La Salle, from Fort Miamis, at the mouth of the St. Joseph, to Chicago, already alluded to, he says: "We went in canoes to the 'River Chicago,' where there is a portage which joins that of the Illinois." *

The name of this river is variously spelled by early writers, "Chicago," † "Che-ka-kou," ‡ "Chikgoná."§ In the prevailing Algonquin language the word signifies a polecat or skunk. The Aborigines, also, called garlic by nearly the same word, from which many authors have inferred that Chicago means "wild onion." ||

While La Salle was in the west, Count Frontenac was removed, and M. La Barre appointed Governor of Canada. The latter was the avowed enemy of La Salle. He injured La Salle in every possible

* Tonti's Memoir, published in the Historical Collections of Louisiana, vol. 1, p. 59.

† Joutel's Journal.

‡ La Hontan.

§ Father Gravier's Narrative Journal, published in Dr. Shea's "Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi."

|| A writer of a historical sketch, published in a late number of "Potter's Monthly," on the isolated statement of an old resident of western Michigan, says that the Indians living thereabouts subsequent to the advent of the early settlers called Chicago "Tuck-Chicago," the meaning of which was, "a place without wood," and thus investing a mere fancy with the dignity of truth. The great city of the west has taken its name from the stream along whose margin it was first laid out, and it becomes important to preserve the origin of its name with whatever certainty a research of all accessible authorities may furnish. In the first place, Chicago was not a place "without wood," or trees; on the contrary, it is the only locality where timber was anything like abundant for the distance of miles around. The north and south branches westward, and the lake on the east, afforded ample protection against prairie fires; and Dr. John M. Peck, in his early Gazetteer of the state, besides other authorities, especially mention the fact that there was a good quality of timber in the vicinity of Chicago, particularly on the north branch. There is nowhere to be found in the several Indian vocabularies of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Dr. Edwin James, and the late Albert Gallatin, in their extensive collections of Algonquin words, any expressions like those used by the writer in Potter's Monthly, bearing the signification which he attaches to them. In Mackenzie's Vocabulary, the Algonquin word for polecat is "*Shi-kak*." In Dr. James' Vocabulary, the word for skunk is "*She-gahg* (shegag); and *Shig-gau-gu-win-zheeg* is the plural for onion or garlic, literally, in the Indian dialect, "skunk-weeds." Dr. James, in a foot-note, says that from this word in the singular number, some have derived the name *Chi-ka-go*, which is commonly pronounced among the Indians, *Shig-gau-go*, and *Shi-gan-go-onng* (meaning) at Chicago.

An association of English traders, styling themselves the "Illinois Land Company," on the 5th of July, 1773, obtained from ten chiefs of the Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Peoria tribes, a deed for two large tracts of land. The second tract, in the description of its boundaries, contains the following expression: "and thence up the Illinois River, by the several courses thereof, to *Chicago*, or Garlic Creek;" and it may safely be assumed that the parties to the deed knew the names given to identify the grant. Were an additional reference necessary, "Wan Bun," the valuable work of Mrs. John H. Kinzie, might also be cited, p. 190. The Iroquois, who made frequent predatory excursions from their homes in New York to the Illinois country, called Chicago *Kan-era-ghik*; vide Cadwalder Colden's "History of the Five Nations."

way, and finally seized upon Fort Frontenac. To obtain redress, La-Salle went to France, reaching Rochelle on the 13th of December, 1683. Seignelay (young Colbert), Secretary of State and Minister of the Marine, was appealed to by La Salle, and became interested and furnished him timely aid in his enterprise.

Before leaving America La Salle ordered Tonti to proceed and finish "Fort St. Louis," as the fortification at Starved Rock, on the Illinois River, was named. "He charged me," says Tonti, "with the duty to go and finish Fort St. Louis, of which he gave me the government, with full power to dispose of the lands in the neighborhood, and left all his people under my command, with the exception of six Frenchmen, whom he took to accompany him to Quebec. We departed from Mackinaw on the same day, he for Canada and I for the Illinois.* On his mission to France La Salle was received with honor by the king and his officers, and the accounts which he gave relative to Louisiana caused them to further his plans for its colonization. A squadron of four vessels was fitted out, the largest carrying thirty-six guns. About two hundred persons were embarked aboard of them for the purpose long projected, as we have foreseen, of establishing a settlement at the mouth of the Mississippi. The fleet was under the command of M. de Beaujeu, a naval officer of some distinction. He was punctilious in the exercise of authority, and had a wiry, nervous organization, as the portrait preserved of him clearly shows.† La Salle was austere, and lacked that faculty of getting along with men, for the want of which many of his best-laid plans failed. A constant bickering and collision of cross purposes was the natural result of such repellant natures as he and Beaujeu possessed.

After a stormy passage of the Atlantic, the fleet entered the Gulf of Mexico. Coasting along the northern shore of the gulf, they failed to discover the mouths of the Mississippi. Passing them, they finally landed in what is now known as Matagorda Bay, or the Bay of St. Barnard, near the River Colorado, in Texas, more than a hundred leagues westward of the Mississippi. The whole number of persons left on the beach is not definitely known. M. Joutel, one of the survivors, and the chronicler of this unfortunate undertaking, mentions one hundred and eighty, besides the crew of the "Belle," which was lost on the beach, consisting of soldiers, volunteers, workmen, women and children.‡ The colony being in a destitute condition, La Salle,

*Tonti's Memoir.

†A fine steel engraving copy of Mons. Beaujeu is contained in Dr. Shea's translation of Charlevoix's "History of New France."

‡Spark's "Life of La Salle."

accompanied by Father Anastius Douay and twenty others, set out to reach the Mississippi, intending to ascend to Fort St. Louis, and there obtain aid from Tonti. They set out on the 7th of January, and after several days' journey, reached the village of the Cenis Indians. Here some of La Salle's men became dissatisfied with their hardships, and determined to slay him and then join the Indians. The tragic tale is thus related by Father Douay: "The wisdom of Monsieur de La Salle was unable to foresee the plot which some of his people would make to slay his nephew, as they suddenly resolved to do, and actually did, on the 17th of March, by a blow of an ax, dealt by one Liotot. They also killed the valet of the Sieur La Salle and his Indian servant, Nika, who, at the risk of his life, had supported them for three years. The wretches resolved not to stop here, and not satisfied with this murder, formed a design of attempting their commander's life, as they had reason to fear his resentment and chastisement. As M. La Salle and myself were walking toward the fatal spot where his nephew had been slain, two of those murderers, who were hidden in the grass, arose, one on each side, with guns cocked. One missed Monsieur La Salle; the other, firing at the same time, shot him in the head. He died an hour after, on the 19th of March, 1687.

"Thus," says Father Douay, "died our commander, constant in adversity, intrepid, generous, engaging, dexterous, skillful, capable of everything. He who for twenty years had softened the fierce temper of countless savage tribes was massacred by the hands of his own domestics, whom he had loaded with caresses. He died in the prime of life, in the midst of his course and labors, without having seen their success."*

The colony which La Salle had left in Texas was surprised and destroyed by the Indians. Not a soul was left to give an account of the massacre. Of the twenty who accompanied him in his attempt to reach the Mississippi, Joutel, M. Cavalier, La Salle's brother, and four others determined to make a last attempt to find the Mississippi; the others, including La Salle's murderers, became the associates of the less brutal Indians, and of them we have no farther account. After a long and toilsome journey Joutel and his party reached the Mississippi near the mouth of the Arkansas. Here they found two men who had been sent by Tonti to relieve La Salle. Embarking in canoes, they went up the Mississippi, arrived at Fort St. Louis in safety, and finally returned to France by way of Quebec.

From this period until 1698 the French made no further attempts to colonize the Lower Mississippi. They had no settlements below the

* Father Douay's Journal, contained in Dr. Shea's "Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi."

Ohio, and above that river, on the Illinois and the upper lakes, were scattered only a few missions and trading posts.

Realizing the great importance of retaining possession of the Mississippi valley, the French court fitted out an expedition which consisted of four vessels, for the purpose of thoroughly exploring the mouth of the Mississippi and adjacent territory. Le Moyne Iberville was put in command of the expedition. He was the third of the eleven sons of Baron Longueil. They all held commissions from the king, and constituted one of the most illustrious of the French Canadian families. The fleet sailed from Brest, France, on the 24th of October, 1698. They came in sight of Florida on the 27th of January, 1699. They ran near the coast, and discovered that they were in the vicinity of Pensacola Bay. Here they found a colony of three hundred Spaniards. Sailing westward, they entered the mouth of the Mississippi on Quinquagesima Monday, which was the 2d of March. Iberville ascended the river far enough to assure himself of its being the Mississippi, then, descending the river, he founded a colony at Biloxi Bay. Leaving his brother, M. de Sauvole, in command of the newly erected fort, he sailed for France. Iberville returned to Biloxi on the 8th of January, and, hearing that the English were exploring the Mississippi, he took formal possession of the Mississippi valley in the name of the French king. He, also, erected a small four-gun fort on Poverty Point, 38 miles below New Orleans. The fort was constructed very rudely, and was occupied for only one year. In the year 1701 Iberville made a settlement at Mobile, and this soon became the principal French town on the gulf. The unavailing efforts of the king in the scheme of colonization induced a belief that a greater prosperity would follow under the stimulus of individual enterprise, and he determined to grant Louisiana to Monsieur Crozat, with a monopoly of its mines, supposed to be valuable in gold and silver, together with the exclusive right of all its commerce for the period of fifteen years. The patent or grant of Louis to M. Crozat is an interesting document, not only because it passed the title of the Mississippi valley into the hands of one man, but for the reason that it embraces a part of the history of the country ceded. We, therefore, quote the most valuable part of it. The instrument bears date September 12th, 1712:

“Louis (the fourteenth), King of France and Navarre; To all who shall see these presents, greeting: The care we have always had to procure the welfare and advantage of our subjects, having induced us, notwithstanding the almost continual wars which we have been engaged to support from the beginning of our reign, to seek all possible opportunities of enlarging and extending the trade of our American

colonies, we did, in the year 1683, give our orders to undertake a discovery of the countries and lands which are situated in the northern parts of America, between New France (Canada) and New Mexico. And the Sieur de La Salle, to whom we committed that enterprise, having had success enough to confirm the belief that a communication might be settled from New France to the Gulf of Mexico by means of large rivers; this obliged us, immediately after the peace of Ryewick (in 1697), to give orders for the establishment of a colony there (under Iberville in 1699), and maintaining a garrison, which has kept and preserved the possession we had taken in the year 1683, of the lands, coasts and islands which are situated in the Gulf of Mexico, between Carolina on the east, and old and New Mexico on the west. But a new war breaking out in Europe shortly after, there was no possibility till now of reaping from that new colony the advantages that might have been expected from thence; because the private men who are concerned in the sea trade were all under engagements with the other colonies, which they have been obliged to follow. And whereas, upon the information we have received concerning the disposition and situation of the said countries, known at present by the name of the province of *Louisiana*, we are of opinion that there may be established therein a considerable commerce, so much the more advantageous to our kingdom in that there has been hitherto a necessity of fetching from foreigners the greatest part of the commodities that may be brought from thence; and because in exchange thereof we need carry thither nothing but the commodities of the growth and manufacture of our own kingdom; we have resolved to grant the commerce of the country of Louisiana to the Sieur Anthony Crozat, our counsellor, secretary of the household, crown and revenue, to whom we intrust the execution of this project. We are the more readily inclined thereto because of his zeal and the singular knowledge he has acquired of maritime commerce, encourages us to hope for as good success as he has hitherto had in the divers and sundry enterprises he has gone upon, and which have procured to our kingdom great quantities of gold and silver in such conjectures as have rendered them very welcome to us. For these reasons, being desirous to show our favor to him, and to regulate the conditions upon which we mean to grant him the said commerce, after having deliberated the affair in our council, of our own certain knowledge, full power and royal authority, we by these presents, signed by our hand, have appointed and do appoint the said Sieur Crozat to carry on a trade in all the lands possessed by us, and bounded by New Mexico and by the English of Carolina, all the establishments, ports, havens, rivers, and particularly the port

and haven of Isle Dauphin, heretofore called Massaere; the river St. Louis, heretofore called Mississippi, from the edge of the sea *as far as the Illinois*,* together with the river St. Philip, heretofore called Missouri, and St. Jerome, heretofore called the Onabache (the Wabash), with all the countries, territories, lakes within land, and the rivers which fall directly or indirectly into that part of the river St. Louis. Our pleasure is, that all the aforesaid lands, countries, streams, rivers and islands, be and remain comprised under the name of the GOVERNMENT OF LOUISIANA, which shall be dependent upon the general government of New France, to which it is subordinate."

Crozat was permitted to search and open mines, and to pay the king one-fifth part of all the gold and silver developed. Work in developing the mines was to be begun in three years, under penalty of forfeiture. Crozat was required to send at least two vessels annually from France to sustain the colonies already established, and for the maintenance of trade.

The next year, 1713, there were, within the limits of Crozat's vast grant, not more than four hundred persons of European descent.

Crozat himself did little to increase the colony, the time of his subordinates being spent in roaming over the country in search of the precious metals. He became wearied at the end of three years spent in profitless adventures, and, in 1717, surrendered his grant back to the crown. In August of the same year the French king turned Louisiana over to the "Western Company," or the "Mississippi Company," subsequently called "The Company of the Indies," at whose head stood the famous Scotch banker, John Law. The rights ceded to Law's company were as broad as the grant to Crozat. Law was an inflationist, believing that wealth could be created without limit by the mere issuing of paper money, and his wild schemes of finance were the most ruinous that ever deluded and bankrupted a confiding people. Louisiana, with its real and undeveloped wealth a hundred times mag-

* The expression, "as far as the Illinois," did not refer to the river of that name, but to the country generally, on *both sides* of the Mississippi, *above the mouth of the Ohio*, which, under both the French and Spanish governments was denominated "the country of the Illinois," and this designation appeared in all their records and official letters. For example, letters, deeds, and other official documents bore date, respectively, at Kaskaskia, of the Illinois; St. Louis, of the Illinois; St. Charles, of the Illinois; not to identify the village where such instruments were executed merely, but to denote the country in which these villages were situated. Therefore, the monopoly of Crozat, by the terms of his patent, extended to the utmost limit of Louisiana, northward, which, by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, was fixed at the 49th° of latitude; *vide* Stoddard's "Sketches of Louisiana," Brackenridge's "Views of Louisiana." From the year 1700 until some time subsequent to the conquest of the country by the British, in 1763, a letter or document executed anywhere within the present limits of the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, or Missouri, would have borne the superscription of "*Les Illinois*," or "*the Illinois*."

nified, became the basis of a fictitious value, on which an enormous volume of stock, convertible into paper money, was issued. The stock rose in the market like a balloon, and chamber-maids, alike with wealthy ladies, barbers and bankers,—indeed, the whole French people,—gazing at the ascending phenomenon, grew mad with the desire for speedy wealth. The French debt was paid off; the depleted treasury filled; poor men and women were made rich in a few days by the constantly advancing value of the stocks of the “Company of the West.” Confidence in the ultimate wealth of Louisiana was all that was required, and this was given to a degree that would not now be credited as true, were not the facts beyond dispute.

After awhile the balloon exploded; people began to doubt; they realized that mere confidence was not solid value; stocks declined; they awoke to a sorrowful contemplation of their delusion and ruin. Law, from the summit of his glory as a financier, fell into ignominy, and to escape bodily harm fled the country; and Louisiana, from being the source of untold wealth, sunk into utter ruin and contempt.

It should be said to the credit of “the company” that they made some efforts toward the cultivation of the soil. The growth of tobacco, sugar, rice and indigo was encouraged. Negroes were imported to till the soil. New Orleans was laid out in 1718, and the seat of government of lower Louisiana subsequently established there. A settlement was made about Natchez. A large number of German emigrants were located on the Mississippi, from whom a portion of the Mississippi has ever since been known as the “German coast.” The French settlements at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, begun, as appears from most authentic accounts, about the year 1700,—certainly not later,—were largely increased by emigration from Canada and France. In the year 1718 the “Company of the West” erected a fortification near Kaskaskia, and named it Fort Chartes, having a *charter* from the crown so to do. It is situated in the northwest corner of Randolph county, Illinois, on the American bottom. It was garrisoned with a small number of soldiers, and was made the seat of government of “the Illinois.” Under the mild government of the “Company,” the Illinois marked a steady prosperity, and Fort Chartes became the center of business, fashion and gaiety of all “the Illinois country.” In 1756 the fort was reconstructed, this time with solid stone. Its shape was an irregular quadrangle, the exterior sides of the polygon being four hundred and ninety feet, and the walls were two feet two inches thick, pierced with port-holes for cannon. The walls of the fort were eighteen feet high, and contained within, guard houses, government house, barracks, powder house, bake house, prison and store room. A very minute description

is given of the whole structure within and without in the minutes of its surrender, October 10, 1765, by Louis St. Ange de Belrive, captain of infantry and commandant, and Joseph Le Fevre, the king's storekeeper and acting commissary of the fort, to Mr. Sterling, deputed by Mr. De Gage (Gage), governor of New York and commander of His Majesty's troops in America, to receive possession of the fort and country from the French, according to the seventeenth article of the treaty of peace, concluded on the 10th of February, 1763, between the kings of France and Great Britain.* Fort Chartes was the strongest and most elaborately constructed of any of the French works of defense in America. Here the intendants and several commandants in charge, whose will was law, governed "the Illinois," administered justice to its inhabitants, and settled up estates of deceased persons, for nearly half a century. From this place the English commandants governed "the Illinois," some of them with great injustice and severity, from the time of its surrender, in 1765, to 1772, when a great flood inundated the American Bottom, and the Mississippi cut a new channel so near the fort that the wall and two bastions on the west side were undermined and fell into the river. The British garrison then abandoned it, and their headquarters were afterward at Kaskaskia.

Dr. Beck, while collecting material for his "Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri," in 1820, visited the ruins of old Fort Chartes. At that time enough remained to show the size and strength of this remarkable fortification. Trees over two feet in diameter were growing within its walls. The ruin is in a dense forest, hidden in a tangle of undergrowth, furnishing a sad memento of the efforts and blasted hopes of La Belle France to colonize "*Les Illinois*."

* The articles of surrender are given at length in the Faris Documents, vol. 10, pp. 1161 to 1166.

CHAPTER XII.

SURRENDER OF LOUISIANA BY THE INDIES COMPANY—EARLY ROUTES.

IN 1731 the company of the Indies surrendered to France, Louisiana, with its forts, colonies and plantations, and from this period forward to the time of the conquest by Great Britain and the Anglo-American colonies, Louisiana was governed through officers appointed by the crown.

We have shown how, when and where colonies were permanently established by the French in Canada, about Kaskaskia, and in Lower Louisiana. It is not within the scope of our inquiries to follow these settlements of the French in their subsequent development, but rather now to show how the establishments of the French along the lakes and near the gulf communicated with each other, and the routes of travel by which they were connected.

The convenient way between Quebec and the several villages in the vicinity of Kaskaskia was around the lakes and down the Illinois River, either by way of the St. Joseph River and the Kankakee portage or through Chicago Creek and the Des Plaines. The long winters and severe climate on the St. Lawrence made it desirable for many people to abandon Canada for the more genial latitudes of southern Illinois, and the still warmer regions of Louisiana, where snows were unknown and flowers grew the year round. It only required the protection of a fort or other military safeguards to induce the Canadians to change their homes from Canada to more favorable localities southward.

The most feasible route between Canada and the Lower Mississippi settlements was by the Ohio River. This communication, however, was effectually barred against the French. The Iroquois Indians, from the time of Champlain, were allies, first of the Dutch and then of the English, and the implacable enemies of the French. The upper waters of the Ohio were within the acknowledged territory of the Iroquois, whose possessions extended westward of New York and Pennsylvania well toward the Scioto. The Ohio below Pittsburgh was, also, in the debatable ground of the Miannis northward, and Chickasaws southward. These nations were warring upon each other continually, and

the country for many miles beyond either bank of the Ohio was infested with war parties of the contending tribes.*

There were no Indian villages near the Ohio River at the period concerning which we now write. Subsequent to this the Shawnees and Delawares, previously subdued by the Iroquois, were permitted by the latter to establish their towns near the confluence of the Scioto, Muskingum and other streams. The valley of the Ohio was within the confines of the "dark and bloody ground." Were a voyager to see smoke ascending above the forest line he would know it was from the camp fire of an enemy, and to be a place of danger. It would indicate the presence of a hunting or war party. If they had been successful they would celebrate the event by the destruction of whoever would commit himself to their hands, and if unfortunate in the chase or on the war-path, disappointment would give a sharper edge to their cruelty.†

The next and more reliable route was that afforded by the Maumee and Wabash, laying within the territory of tribes friendly to the French. The importance of this route was noticed by La Salle, in his letter to Count Frontenac, in 1683, before quoted. La Salle says: "There is a river at the extremity of Lake Erie,‡ within ten leagues of the strait (Detroit River), which will very much shorten the way to the *Illinois*, it being navigable for canoes to within two leagues of *their* river."§ As early as 1699, Mons. De Iberville conducted a colony of Canadians from Quebec to Louisiana, by way of the Maumee and Wabash. "These were followed by other families, under the leadership of M. Du Tessenet. Emigrants came by land, first ascending the St. Lawrence to Lake Erie, then ascending a river emptying into that lake to the portage of *Des Miamis*; their effects being thence transported to the river *Miamis*, where pirogues, constructed out of a single tree, and large enough to contain thirty persons, were built, with which the voyage down the Mississippi was prosecuted."|| This memoir corresponds remarkably well with the claim of Little Turtle, in his speech to Gen. Wayne, concerning the antiquity of the title, in his tribe, to the portage of the Wabash at Fort Wayne. It also illustrates the fact that among the first French settlers in lower Louisiana were

* A Miami chief said that his nation had no tradition of "a time when they were not at war with the Chickasaws."

† General William H. Harrison's Address before the Historical Society of Cincinnati.

‡ The Maumee.

§ Meaning the Wabash.

|| Extract taken from a memoir, showing that the first establishments in Louisiana were at Mobile, etc., the original manuscript being among the archives in the department "De la Marine et Des Colonies," in Paris, France.

those who found their way thither through the "glorious gate," belonging to the Miamis, connecting the Maumee and Wabash.

Originally, the Maumee was known to the French as the "Miami," "Oumiani," or the "River of the Miamis," from the fact that bands of this tribe of Indians had villages upon its banks. It was also called "Ottawa," or "Tawwa," which is a contraction of the word Ottawa, as families of this tribe "resided on this river from time immemorial." The Shawnee Indian name is "Ottawa-sepe," that is "Ottawa River." By the Hurons, or Wyandots, it was called "Cagh-a-ren-du-te," the "River of the Standing Rock." * Lewis Evans, whose map was published in 1755, and which is, perhaps, the first English map issued of the territory lying north and west of the Ohio River, lays down the Miami as "Mine-a-mi," a way the Pennsylvania Indian traders had of pronouncing the word Miami. In 1703, Mons. Cadillac, the French commandant at Detroit, in his application for a grant of land six leagues in breadth on either side of the Maumee, upon which he proposed to propagate silk-worms, refers to the river as "Grand River" † As early as 1718 it is mentioned as the "Miamis River," ‡ and it bore this name more generally than that of any other from 1718 to a period subsequent to the War of 1812. Capt. Robert M'Afee, who was in the various campaigns up and down the Maumee during the War of 1812, and whose history of this war, published at Lexington, Ky., in 1816, gives the most authentic account of the military movements in this quarter, makes frequent mention of the river by the name of "Miami," occasionally designating it as the "Miami of the Lake."

Gen. Joseph Harmar, in his report of the military expedition conducted by him to Fort Wayne, in October, 1790, calls the Miami the "Omee." He says: "As there are three Miamis in the northwestern territory, all bearing the name of Miami, I shall in the future, for distinction's sake, when speaking of the Miami of the Lake, call it the 'Omee,' and its towns the Omee Towns. By this name they are best known on the frontier. It is only, however, one of the many corruptions or contractions universally used among the French-Americans in pronouncing Indian names. 'Au-Mi,' for instance, is the contraction for 'An Miami.'" §

The habit of the "Coureur de Bois" and others using the mongrel language of the border Canadians, as well, also, the custom prevailing

* "Account of the Present State of Indian Tribes, etc., Inhabiting Ohio." By John Johnson, Indian Agent, June 17, 1819. Published in vol. 1 of *Archæologia Americana*.

† Sheldon's *History of Michigan*, p. 108.

‡ *Paris Documents*, vol. 9, p. 886 and 891.

§ Gen. Harmar's official letter to the Secretary of War, under date of November 23, 1790, published in the *American State Papers*.

among this class of persons in giving nicknames to rivers and localities, has involved other observers besides Gen. Harmar in the same perplexity. Thomas Hutchins, the American geographer, and Capt. Harry Gordon visited Kaskaskia and the adjacent territory subsequent to the conquest of the northwest territory from the French, and became hopelessly entangled in the contractions and epithets applied to the surrounding villages on both sides of the Mississippi. Kaskaskia was abbreviated to "*Au-kas*," and St. Louis nicknamed "*Pain Court*" — *Short Bread*; Carondelet was called "*Vide Pouché*" — *Empty Pocket*; Ste. Genevieve was called "*Missier*" — *Misery*. The Kaskaskia, after being shortened to *Au-kaus*, pronounced "*Okan*," has been further corrupted to *Okaw*, and at this day we have the singular contradiction of the ancient Kaskaskia being called Kaskaskia near its mouth and "*Okaw*" at its source.

The Miamis, or bands of their tribe, had villages in order of time; first on the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, then upon the Maumee; after this, 1750, they, with factions of other tribes who had become disaffected toward the French, established a mixed village upon the stream now known as the Great Miami, which empties into the Ohio, and in this way the name of Miami has been transferred, successively, from the St. Joseph to the Miami, and from the latter to the present Miami, with which it has become permanently identified.* The Miamis were, also, called the "*Man-meas*,"— this manner of spelling growing out of one of the several methods of pronouncing the word Miami— and it is doubtless from this source that the name of Maumee is derived †

In this connection we may note the fact that the St. Marys and the Auglaize were named by the Shawnee Indians, as follows: The first was called by this tribe, who had several villages upon its banks, the "*Co-kothe-ke-sepe*," Kettle River; and the Auglaize "*Cow-then-ke-sepe*," or Fallen Timber River. These aboriginal names are given by Mr. John Johnson, in his published account of the Indian tribes before referred to.‡

We will now give a derivation of the name of the Wabash, which has been the result of an examination of a number of authorities. Early French writers have spelled the word in various ways, each endeavoring, with more or less success, to represent the name as the sev-

* The aboriginal name of the Great Miami was "*Assin-erient*," or Rocky River, from the word *Assin*, or *Ussin*, the Algonquin appellation for stone or stony. Lewis Evan's map of 1755.

† In an official letter of Gen. Harrison to the Secretary of War, dated March 22, 1814, the name "*Miamis*" and "*Maumees*" are given as synonymous terms, referring to the same tribe.

‡ Mr. Johnson had charge of the Indian affairs in Ohio for many years, and was especially acquainted with the Shawnees and their language.

eral Algonquin tribes pronounced it. First, we have Father Marquette's orthography, "Oua-bous-kigou;" and by later French authorities it is spelled "Abache," "Ouabache," "Oubashe," "Oubache," "Oubash," "Oubask," "Oubache," "Wabascon," "Wabache," and "Waubache." It should be borne in mind that the French alphabet does not contain the letter W, and that the diphthong "ou" with the French has nearly the same sound as the letter W of the English alphabet. The Jesuits sometimes used a character much like the figure 8, which is a Greek contraction formulated by them, to represent a peculiar guttural sound among the Indians, and which we often, though imperfectly, represent by the letter W, or Wan.*

That Wabash is an Indian name, and was early applied to the stream that now bears this name, is clearly established by Father Gravier. This missionary descended the Mississippi in the year 1700, and speaking of the Ohio and its tributaries, says: "Three branches are assigned to it, one that comes from the northwest (the Wabash), passing behind the country of the Oumiamis, called the St. Joseph,† which the Indians properly call the *Ouabachei*; the second comes from the Iroquois (whose country included the head-waters of the Ohio), and is called the Ohio; and the third, which comes from the Chaou-anona‡ (Shawnees). And all of them uniting to empty into the Mississippi, it is commonly called Ouabachi."§

In the variety of manner in which Wabash is spelled in the examples given above, we clearly trace the *Waw-bish-kaw*, of the Ojibeways; the *Wabisca* (pronounced Wa-bis-sa) of the modern Algonquin; *Wau-bish* of the Menominees, and *Wa-bi* of the ancient Algonquins, words which with all these kindred tongues mean *White*.||

Therefore the aboriginal of Wabash (Sepe) should be rendered *White River*. This theory is supported by Lewis Evans, who for many years was a trader among the Indians, inhabiting the country drained by the Wabash and its tributary waters. The extensive knowledge which he acquired in his travels westward of the Alleghanies resulted

*Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 41, foot-note. For example, we find in the Journal of Marquette, *Sabskig8*, for Wabash. The same manner of spelling is also observed in names, as written by other missionaries, where they design to represent the sound of the French "ou," or the English W.

†Probably a mistake of the copyist, and which should be the St. Jerome, a name given by the French to the Wabash, as we have seen in the extracts taken from Crozat's grant. Dr. Shea has pointed out numerous mistakes made by the copyist of the manuscripts from which the "Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi" are composed.

‡The Tennessees.

§Father Gravier's Journal in Dr. Shea's Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, pp. 120, 121.

||The several aboriginal names for white, which we have given above, are taken from the vocabularies of Mackenzie, Dr. Ewin James and Albert Gallatin, which are regarded as standard authorities.

in his publishing, in 1755, a map, accompanied with an extended description of the territory it embraced. In describing the Wabash, Mr. Evans calls it by the name the Iroquois Indians had given it, viz: the "Quia-agh-tena," and says "it is called by the French Ouabach, though that is truly the name of its *southeastern* branch." Why the White River, of Indiana, which is the principal southeastern branch of the Wabash, should have been invested with the English meaning of the word, and the aboriginal name should have been retained by the river to which it has always properly belonged, is easily explained, when we consider the ignorance and carelessness of many of the early travelers, whose writings, coming down to us, have tended to confuse rather than aid the investigations of the modern historian. The Ohio River *below* the confluence of the Wabash is designated as the Wabash by a majority of the early French writers, and so laid down on many of the contemporaneous maps. This was, probably, due to the fact that the Wabash was known and used before the Ohio had been explored to its mouth. So fixed has become the habit of calling the united waters of these two streams Wabash, from their union continuously to their discharge into the Mississippi, that the custom prevailed long after a better knowledge of the geography of the country suggested the propriety of its abandonment. Even after the French of Canada accepted the change, and treated the Ohio as the main river and the Wabash as the tributary, the French of Louisiana adhered to the old name.

We quote from M. Le Page Du Pratz' History of Louisiana: * "Let us now repossess the Mississippi in order to resume a description of the lands to the east, which we quit at the river *Wabash*. This river is distant from the sea four hundred and sixty leagues; it is reckoned to have four hundred leagues in length from its source to its confluence with the Mississippi. It is called Wabash, though, according to the usual method, it ought to be called the Ohio, or Beautiful River,† seeing the Ohio was known under that name before its confluence was known; and as the Ohio takes its rise at a greater distance off than the three others which mix together before they empty themselves into the Mississippi, this should make the others lose their

*The author was for sixteen years a planter of Louisiana, having gone thither from France soon after the Company of the West or Indes restored the country to the crown. He was a gentleman of superior attainments, and soon acquired a thorough knowledge of the French possessions in America. He returned to France, and in 1758 published his "History of Louisiana," with maps, which, in 1763, was translated into English. These volumes are largely devoted to the experience of the author in the cultivation of rice, indigo, sugar and other products congenial to the climate and soil of Louisiana, and to quite an extended topographical description of the whole Mississippi Valley.

†The Iroquois' name for the Ohio was "*O-io*," meaning beautiful, and the French retained the signification in the name of "*La Belle Rivière*," by which the Ohio was known to them.

names; but *custom has prevailed* in this respect. The first known to us which falls into the Ohio is that of the *Miamis* (Wabash), which takes its rise toward Lake Erie. It is by this river of the *Miamis* that the Canadians come to Louisiana. For this purpose they embark on the River St. Lawrence, go up this river, pass the cataracts quite to the bottom of Lake Erie, where they find a small river, on which they also go up to a place called the *carriage of the Miamis*, because that people come and take their effects and carry them on their backs for two leagues from thence to the banks of the river of their name which I just said empties itself into the Ohio. From thence the Canadians go down that river, enter the Wabash, and at last the Mississippi, which brings them to New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana. They reckon eighteen hundred leagues from the capital of Canada to that of Louisiana, on account of the great turns and windings they are obliged to take. The river of the *Miamis* is thus the first to the north which falls into the Ohio, then that of the *Chaouanons* to the south, and lastly, that of the Cherokee, *all which together* empty themselves into the Mississippi. *This* is what we (in Louisiana) call the Wabash, and what in Canada and New England is called the Ohio.*

A failure to recognize the fact that the Ohio below the mouth of the Wabash was, for a period of over half a century, known to the French as the Wabash, has led not a few later writers to erroneously locate ancient French forts and missionary stations upon the banks of the Wabash, which were in reality situated many miles below, on the Ohio.†

* On the map prefixed to Du Pratz' history, the Ohio from the Mississippi up to the confluence of the Wabash is called the "Wabash"; above this the Ohio is called Ohio, and the Wabash is called "The River of the *Miamis*," with villages of that tribe noted near its source. The Maumee is called the "River of the Carrying Place." The Upper Mississippi, the Illinois River and the lakes are also laid down, and, altogether, the map is quite accurate.

† A noticeable instance of such a mistake will be found relative to the city of Vincennes. On the authority of La Harpe, and the later historian Charlevoix, the French in the year 1700, established a trading post near the mouth of the Ohio, on the site of the more modern Fort Massac, in Massac county, Ill., for the purpose of securing buffalo hides. The neighboring Mascotins, as was customary with the Indians, soon gathered about for the purpose of barter. Their numbers, as well as the expressed wish of the French traders, induced Father Merment to visit the place and engage in mission work. At the end of four or five years, in 1705, the establishment was broken up on account of a quarrel of the Indians among themselves, and which so threatened the lives of the Frenchmen that the latter fled, leaving behind their effects and 13,000 buffalo hides which they had collected. Some years later Father Marest, writing from Kaskaskia, in his letter before referred to, relates the failure of Father Merment to convert the Indians at *this* "post on the Wabash"; and on the authority of this letter alone, and although Father Marest only followed the prevailing style in calling the lower Ohio the Wabash, some writers, the late Judge John Law being the first, have contended that this post was on the Wabash and at Vincennes. Charlevoix says "it was at the mouth of the Wabash which discharges itself into the Mississippi." La Harpe, and also Le Sueur, whose personal knowledge of the post was contemporaneous with its existence, definitely fix its position near the mouth of the Ohio. The latter gives the date of its beginning, and the former narrates an account of its trade and final abandonment. In this way an antiquity has been claimed for Vincennes to which it is not historically entitled.

We now give a description of the Maumee and Wabash, the location of the several Indian villages, and the manners of their inhabitants, taken from a memoir prepared in 1718 by a French officer in Canada, and sent to the minister at Paris.*

"I return to the Miamis River. Its entrance from Lake Erie is very wide, and its banks on both sides, for a distance of ten leagues up, are nothing but continued swamps, abounding at all times, especially in the spring, with game without end, swans, geese, ducks, cranes, etc., which drive sleep away by the noise of their cries. This river is sixty leagues in length, very embarrassing in summer in consequence of the lowness of the water. Thirty leagues up the river is a place called *La Glaise*,† where buffalo are always to be found; they eat the clay and wallow in it. The Miamis are sixty leagues from Lake Erie, and number four hundred, all well formed men, and well tattooed;‡ the women are numerous. They are hard working, and raise a species of maize unlike that of our Indians at Detroit. It is white, of the same size as the other, the skin much finer, and the meal much whiter. This nation is clad in deer skin, and when a woman goes with another man her husband cuts off her nose and does not see her any more. They have plays and dances, wherefore they have more occupation. The women are well clothed; but the men use scarcely any covering, and are tattooed all over the body.

"From this Miami village there is a *portage* of three leagues to a little and very narrow stream,§ that falls, after a course of twenty leagues, into the Ohio or Beautiful River, which discharges into the Ouabache, a fine river that falls into the Mississippi forty leagues from the Cascachias. Into the Ouabache falls also the Casquinampo,|| which communicates with Carolina; but this is far off, and is always up stream.

"The River Ouabache is the one on which the Ouyatanons¶ are settled.

"They consist of five villages, which are contiguous the one to the other. One is called Oujatanon, the other Peanguichias,** and another

*The document is quite lengthy, covering all the principal places and Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, and showing the compiler possessed a very thorough acquaintance with the whole subject. It is given entire in the Paris Documents, vol. 9; that relating to the Maumee and Wabash on pages 886 to 891.

†Defiance, Ohio.

‡These villages were near the confluence of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph, and this is the first account we have of the present site of Fort Wayne.

§ Little River, that empties into the Wabash just below Huntington.

|| The Tennessee River.

¶The "Weas," whose principal villages were near the mouth of Eel River, near Logansport, and on the Wea prairie, between Attica and La Fayette.

**The ancient Piankashaw town was on the Vermilion of the Wabash, and the Miami name of the Vermilion was Piankashaw.

Petitscotias, and a fourth Le Gros. The name of the last I do not recollect, but they are all Oujatanons, having the same language as the Miamis, whose brothers they are, and properly all Miamis, having the same customs and dress.* The men are very numerous; fully a thousand or twelve hundred.

"They have a custom different from all other nations, which is to keep their fort extremely clean, not allowing a blade of grass to remain within it. The whole of the fort is sanded like the Tuilleries. The village is situated on a high hill, and they have over two leagues of improvement where they raise their Indian corn, pumpkins and melons. From the summit of this elevation nothing is visible to the eye but prairies full of buffaloes. Their play and dancing are incessant.†

"All of these tribes use a vast quantity of vermilion. The women wear clothing, the men very little. The River Ohio, or Beautiful river, is the route which the Iroquois take. It would be of importance that they should not have such intercourse, as it is very dangerous. Attention has been called to this matter long since, but no notice has been taken of it."

*The "Le Gros," that is, The Great (village), was probably "Chip-pe-co-ke," or the town of "Brush-wood," the name of the old village at Vincennes, which was the principal city of the Piankashaws.

†The village here described is Ouatanon, which was situated a few miles below La Fayette, near which, though on the opposite or north bank of the Wabash, the Stockade Fort of "Ouatanon" was established by the French.

CHAPTER XIII.

ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS—THE SEVERAL ILLINOIS TRIBES.

THE Indians who lived in and claimed the territory to which our attention is directed were the several tribes of the Illinois and Miami confederacies,—the Pottawatomies, the Kickapoos and scattered bands of Shawnees and Delawares. Their title to the soil had to be extinguished by conquest or treatise of purchase before the country could be settled by a higher civilization; for the habits of the two races, red and white, were so radically different that there could be no fusion, and they could not, or rather did not, live either happily or at peace together.

We proceed to treat of these several tribes, observing the order in which their names have been mentioned; and we do so in this connection for the reason that it will aid toward a more ready understanding of the subjects which are to follow.

The Illinois were a subdivision of the great Algonquin family. Their language and manners differed somewhat from other surrounding tribes, and resembled most the Miamis, with whom they originally bore a very close affinity. Before Joliet and Marquette's voyage to the Mississippi, all of the Indians who came from the south to the mission at La Pointe, on Lake Superior, for the purposes of barter, were by the French called Illinois, for the reason that the *first* Indians who came to La Pointe from the south "*called themselves Illinois.*" *

In the Jesuit Relations the name Illinois appears as "Illi-mouek," "Illinoues," "Ill-i-ne-wek," "Allin-i-wek" and "Lin-i-wek." By Father Marquette it is "Ilinois," and Hennepin has it the same as it is at the present day. The *ois* was pronounced like our *way*, so that *ouai*, *ois*, *wek* and *ouek* were almost identical in pronunciation.† "Willinis" is Lewis Evans' orthography. Major Thomas Forsyth, who for many years was a trader and Indian agent in the territory, and subsequently the state, of Illinois, says the Confederation of Illinois

* As we have given the name of Ottawas to all the savages of these countries, although of different nations, because the first who have appeared among the French have been Ottawas; so also it is with the name of the Illinois, very numerous, and dwelling toward the south, because the first who have come to the "point of the Holy Ghost for commerce called themselves Illinois."—Father Claude Dablon, in the Jesuit Relations for 1670, 1671.

† Note by Dr. Shea in the article entitled "The Indian Tribes of Wisconsin," furnished by him for the Historical Society of Wisconsin, and published in Vol. III of their collections, p. 128.

"called themselves *Linneway*,"—which is almost identical with the *Lin-i-wek* of the Jesuits, having a regard for its proper pronunciation,—“and that by others they were called *Minneway*, signifying men,” and that their confederacy embraced the combined Illinois and Miami tribes; “that all these different bands of the *Minneway* nation spoke the language of the present Miamis, and the whole considered themselves as one and the same people, yet from their local situation, and having no standard to go by, their language became broken up into different dialects.” * They were by the Iroquois called “*Chick-tugh-icks*.”

Many theories have been advanced and much fine speculation indulged in concerning the origin and meaning of the word *Illinois*. We have seen that the *Illinois* first made themselves known to the French by that name, and we have never had a better signification of the name than that which the *Illinois* themselves gave to Fathers Marquette and Hennepin. The former, in his narrative journal, observes: “To say *Illinois* is, in their language, to say ‘the men,’ as if other Indians, compared to them, were mere beasts.” † “The word *Illinois* signifies a man of full age in the vigor of his strength. This word *Illinois* comes, as it has already been observed, from *Illini*, which in the language of that nation signifies a perfect and accomplished man.” ‡

Subsequently the name *Illini*, *Linneway*, *Willinis* or *Illinois*, with more propriety became limited to a confederacy, at first composed of four subdivisions, known as the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Tamaroas and Peorias. Not many years before the discovery of the Mississippi by the French, a foreign tribe, the Metchigamis, nearly destroyed by wars with the Sacs to the north and the Chickasaws to the south, to save themselves from annihilation appealed to the Kaskaskias for admission into their confederacy.§ The request was granted, and the Metchigamis left their homes on the Osage river and established their villages on the St. Francis, within the limits of the present State of Missouri and below the mouth of the Kaskaskia.

The subdivision of the *Illinois* proper into *cantons*, as the French writers denominate the families or villages of a nation, like that of other tribes was never very distinct. There were no villages exclusively for a separate branch of the tribe. Owing to intermarriage, adoption and other processes familiar to modern civilization, the sub-

* Life of Black-Hawk, by Benjamin Drake, seventh edition, pp. 16 and 17.

† Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley, p. 25.

‡ Hennepin's Discovery of America, pp. 35 and 119, London edition, 1698.

§ Charlevoix's "Narrative Journal," Vol. II, p. 228. Also note of B. F. French, p. 61 of Vol. III, First Series of Historical Collections of Louisiana.

tribal distinctions were not well preserved; and when Charlevoix, that acute observer, in 1721 visited these several Illinois villages near Kaskaskia, their inhabitants were so mixed together and confounded that it was almost impossible to distinguish the different branches of the tribe from each other.*

The first accounts we have of the Illinois are given by the Jesuit missionaries. In the "Relations" for the year 1655 we find that the Lin-i-ouek are neighbors of the Winnebagoes; again in the "Relations" for the next year, "that the Illinois nation dwell more than sixty leagues from here,† and beyond a great river,‡ which as near as can be conjectured flows into the sea toward Virginia. These people are warlike. They use the bow, rarely the gun, and never the canoe.

When Joliet and Marquette were descending the Mississippi, they found villages of the Illinois on the Des Moines river, and on their return they passed through larger villages of the same nation situated on the Illinois river, near Peoria and higher up the stream.

While the Illinois were nomads, though not to the extent of many other tribes, they had villages of a somewhat permanent character, and when they moved after game they went in a body. It would seem from the most authentic accounts that their favorite abiding places were on the Illinois river, from the Des Plaines down to its confluence with the Mississippi, and on the Mississippi from the Kaskaskia to the mouth of the Ohio. This beautiful region abounded in game; its rivers were well stocked with fish, and were frequented by myriads of wild fowls. The climate was mild. The soil was fertile. By the mere turning of the sod, the lands in the rich river bottoms yielded bountiful crops of Indian corn, melons and squashes.

In disposition and morals the Illinois were not to be very highly commended. Father Charlevoix, speaking of them as they were in 1700, says: "Missionaries have for some years directed quite a flourishing church among the Illinois, and they have ever since continued to instruct that nation, in whom christianity had already produced a change such as she alone can produce in morals and disposition. Before the arrival of the missionaries, there were perhaps no Indians in any part of Canada with fewer good qualities and more vices." They have

* "These tribes are at present very much confounded, and are become very inconsiderable. There remains only a very small number of Kaskaskias, and the two villages of that name are almost entirely composed of Tamaroas and *Metchigamis*, a foreign nation adopted by the Kaskaskias, and originally settled on a small river you meet with going down the Mississippi."—Charlevoix' "Narrative Journal," Letter XXVIII, dated Kaskaskia, October 20, 1721; p. 228, Vol. II.

† The letter is sent from the Mission of the Holy Ghost, at La Pointe.

‡ The Mississippi.

always been mild and docile enough, but they were cowardly, treacherous, fickle, deceitful, thievish, brutal, destitute of faith or honor, selfish, addicted to gluttony and the most monstrous lusts, almost unknown to the Canada tribes, who accordingly despised them heartily, but the Illinois were not a whit less haughty or self-complacent on that account.

"Such allies could bring no great honor or assistance to the French; yet we never had any more faithful, and, if we except the Abénaqui tribes, they are the only tribe who never sought peace with their enemies to our prejudice. (They did, indeed, see the necessity of our aid to defend themselves against several nations who seemed to have sworn their ruin, and especially against the Iroquois and Foxes, who, by constant harrassing, have somewhat trained them to war, the former taking home from their expeditions the vices of that corrupt nation.)*"

Father Charlevoix' comments upon the Illinois confirm the statements of Hennepin, who says: "They are lazy vagabonds, timorous, pettish thieves, and so fond of their liberty that they have no great respect for their chiefs."†

Their cabins were constructed of mats, made out of flags, spread over a frame of poles driven into the ground in a circular form and drawn together at the top.

"Their villages," says Father Hennepin,‡ "are open, not enclosed with palisades because they had no courage to defend them; they would flee as they heard their enemies approaching." Before their acquaintance with the French they had no knowledge of iron and fire-arms. Their two principal weapons were the bow and arrow and the club. Their arrows were pointed with stone, and their tomahawks were made out of stag's horns, cut in the shape of a cutlass and terminating in a large ball. In the use of the bow and arrow, all writers agree, that the Illinois excelled all neighboring tribes. For protection against the missiles of an enemy they used bucklers composed of buffalo hides stretched over a wooden frame.

In form they were tall and lithe. They were noted for their swiftness of foot. They wore moccasins prepared from buffalo hides; and, in summer, this generally completed their dress. Sometimes they wore a small covering, extending from the waist to the knees. The rest of the body was entirely nude.

The women, beside cultivating the soil, did all of the household drudgery, carried the game and made the clothes. The garments

* Charlevoix's "History of New France," vol. 5, page 130.

† Hennepin, page 132, London edition, 1698.

‡ Page 132.

were prepared from buffalo hides, and from the soft wool that grew upon these animals. Both the wool and hides were dyed with brilliant colors, black, yellow or vermilion. In this kind of work the Illinois women were greatly in advance of other tribes. Articles of dress were sewed together with thread made from the nerves and tendons of deer, prepared by exposure to the sun twice in every twenty-four hours. After which the nerves and tendons were beaten so that their fibers would separate into a fine white thread. The clothing of the women was something like the loose wrappers worn by ladies of the present day. Beneath the wrapper were petticoats, for warmth in winter. With a fondness for finery that characterizes the feminine sex the world over, the Illinois women wore head-dresses, contrived more for ornament than for use. The feet were covered with moccasins, and leggings decorated with quills of the porcupine stained in colors of brilliant contrasts. Ornaments, fashioned out of clam shells and other hard substances, were worn about the neck, wrists and ankles; these, with the face, hands and neck daubed with pigments, completed the toilet of the highly fashionable Illinois belle.

Their food consisted of the scanty products of their fields, and principally of game and fish, of which, as previously stated, there was in their country a great abundance. Father Allouez, who visited them in 1673, stated that they had fourteen varieties of herbs and forty-two varieties of fruits which they use for food. Their plates and other dishes were made of wood, and their spoons were constructed out of buffalo bones. The dishes for boiling food were earthen, *sometimes glazed*.*

From all accounts, it seems that the Illinois claimed an extensive tract of country, bounded on the east by the ridge that divides the waters flowing into the Illinois from the streams that drain into the Wabash above the head waters of Saline creek, and as high up the Illinois as the Des Plaines, extending westward of the Mississippi, and reaching northward to the debatable ground between the Illinois, Chippeways, Winnebagoes, Sacs and Foxes. Their favorite and most populous cities were on the Illinois river, near Starved Rock, and

*The account we have given of the manners, habits and customs of the Illinois is compiled from the following authorities: La Hontan, Charlevoix, Hennepin, Tonti, Marquette, Joutel, the missionaries Marest, Rasles and Allouez. Besides, the historic letter of Marest, found in Kip's Jesuit Missions, is another from this distinguished priest, written from Kaskaskia to M. Bienville, and incorporated in Penicaut's Annals of Louisiana, a translation of which is contained in the Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, by B. F. French. In this letter of Father Marest, dated in 1711, is a very fine description of the customs of the Illinois Indians, and their prosperous condition at Kaskaskia and adjacent villages.

below as far as Peoria. The missionary station founded by Father Marquette was, in all probability, near the latter place.

Prior to the year 1700, Father Marest had charge of a mission at the *neck, strait or narrows* of Peoria lake. In Peoria lake, above Peoria, is a contracted channel, and this is evidently referred to by Father Gravier in his "Narrative Journal" where he states: "I arrived too late at the Illinois du Detroit, of whom Father Marest has charge, to prevent the transmigration of the village of the Kaskaskias, which was too precipitately made on vague news of the establishment on the Mississippi. I do not believe that the Kaskaskias would have thus separated from the Peonaroua and other Illinois *du Detroit*. At all events, I came soon enough to unite minds a little, and to prevent the insult which the Peonaroua and the Mouin-gouena were bent on offering to the Kaskaskias and French as they embarked. I spoke to all the chiefs in full council, and as they continued to preserve some respect and good will for me, we separated very peaceably. But I argue no good from this separation, which I have always hindered, seeing too clearly the evil results. God grant that the road from Chikagoua to this strait" (au Detroit) "be not closed, and the whole Illinois mission suffer greatly. I avow to you, Reverend Father, that it rends my heart to see my old flock thus divided and dispersed, and I shall never see it, after leaving it, without having some new cause of affliction. The Peonaroua, whom I left without a missionary (since Father Marest has followed the Kaskaskias), have promised me that they would preserve the church, and that they would await my return from the Mississippi, where I told them I went only to assure myself of the truth of all that was said about it." *

The area of the original country of the Illinois was reduced by continuous wars with their neighbors. The Sioux forced them eastward; the Sac and Fox, and other enemies, encroached upon them from the north, while war parties of the foreign Iroquois, from the east, rapidly decimated their numbers. These unhappy influences were doing

* Father Gravier's Journal in Shea's Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, pp. 116 and 117. Dr. Shea, in a foot note, p. 116, says: "This designation (*Illinois Du Detroit*) does not appear elsewhere, and I cannot discover what *strait* is referred to. It evidently includes the Peorias."

Dr. Shea's conjecture is very nearly correct. The narrows in Peoria lake retained the appellation of Little Detroit, a name handed down from the French-Canadians. Dr. Lewis Beck, in his "Gazetteer of Illinois and Missouri," p. 124, speaks of "*Little Detroit*, an Indian village situated on the east bank of lake Peoria, six miles above Ft. Clark." On the map prefixed to the Gazetteer prepared in 1820 the contraction of the lake is shown and designated as "*Little Detroit*."

We have seen from extracts from Father Marquette's Journal, quoted on a preceding page, that it was the Kaskaskias at whose village this distinguished missionary promised to return and to establish a mission, and that with the ebbing out of his life he fulfilled his engagement. From Father Gravier's Journal, just quoted, it is appar-

their fatal work, and the Illinois confederacy was in a stage of decline when they first came in contact with the French. Their afflictions made them accessible to the voice of the missionary, and in their weakness they hailed with delight the coming of the Frenchman with his promises of protection, which were assured by guns and powder. The misfortunes of the Illinois drew them so kindly to the priests, the *coureurs des Bois* and soldiers, that the friendship between the two races never abated; and when in the order of events the sons of France had departed from the Illinois, their love for the departed Gaul was inculcated into the minds of their children.

The erection of Fort St. Louis on the Illinois, St. Joseph on the stream of that name, and the establishment at Detroit, for a while stayed the calamity that was to befall the Illinois. Frequent allusion has been made to the part the Iroquois took in the destruction of this powerful confederacy. For the gratification of the reader we give a condensed account of some of these Iroquois campaigns in the Illinois country. The extracts we take are from a memoir on the western Indians, by M. Du Chesneau,* dated at Quebec, September 13, 1681: ("To convey a correct idea of the present state of all those Indian nations it is necessary to explain the cause of the cruel war waged by the Iroquois for these three years past against the Illinois.") The former were great warriors, cannot remain idle, and pretend to subject all other nations to themselves, and never want a pretext for commencing hostilities. The following was their assumed excuse for the present war: Going, about twenty years ago, to attack the Outagamis (Foxes), they met the Illinois and killed a considerable number of them. This continued during the succeeding years, and finally, having destroyed a great many, they forced them to abandon their country and seek refuge in very distant parts. The Iroquois having got quit of the Illinois, took no more trouble with them, and went to war against another nation called the Andostagues.† Pending this war the Illinois returned to their country, and the Iroquois complained that they had

ent that the mission had for some years been in successful operation at the combined village of the Kaskaskias, Peorias and Mouin-gouena, situated at the Du Detroit of the Illinois; and also that the Kaskaskias, hearing that the French were about to form establishments on the lower Mississippi, in company with the French inhabitants of their ancient village, were in the act of going down the Mississippi at the time of Gravier's arrival, in September, 1700. All these facts taken together would seem to definitely locate the Mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the narrows, six miles above the present city of Peoria, which is upon the site of old Fort Clark, and probably, from the topography of the locality, upon the east bank of the strait. In conclusion, we may add that the Kaskaskias were induced to halt in their journey southward upon the river, which has ever since borne their name; and the mission, transferred from the old Kaskaskias, above Peoria, retained the name of "The Immaculate Conception," etc.

* Paris Documents, vol. 9, pp. 161 to 166.

† The Eries, or Cats, were entirely destroyed by the Iroquois.

killed forty of their people who were on their way to hunt beaver in the Illinois country. (To obtain satisfaction, the Iroquois resolved to make war upon them.) Their true motive, however, was to gratify the English at Manatte* and Orange,† of whom they are too near neighbors, and who, by means of presents, engaged the Iroquois in this expedition, the object of which was to force the Illinois to bring their beaver to them, so that they may go and trade it afterward to the English; also, to intimidate the other Indians, and constrain them to do the same thing.

“The improper conduct of Sieur de la Salle,‡ governor of Fort Frontenac, has contributed considerably to cause the latter to adopt this proceeding; for after he had obtained permission to discover the Great River Mississippi, and had, as he alleged, the grant of the Illinois, he no longer observed any terms with the Iroquois. He ill-treated them, and avowed that he would convey arms and ammunition to the Illinois, and would die assisting them.

“The Iroquois dispatched in the month of April of last year, 1680, an army, consisting of between five and six hundred men, who approached an Illinois village where Sieur Tonty, one of Sieur de la Salle's men happened to be with some Frenchmen and two Recollect fathers, whom the Iroquois left unharmed. One of these, a most holy man,§ has since been killed by the Indians. But they would listen to no terms of peace proposed to them by Sieur de Tonty, who was slightly wounded at the beginning of the attack; the Illinois having fled a hundred leagues thence, were pursued by the Iroquois, who killed and captured as many as twelve hundred of them, including women and children, having lost only thirty men.

“The victory achieved by the Iroquois rendered them so insolent that they have continued ever since that time to send out divers war parties. The success of these is not yet known, but it is not doubted that they have been successful, because those tribes are very warlike and the Illinois are but indifferently so. Indeed, there is no doubt, and it is the universal opinion, that if the Iroquois are allowed to proceed they will subdue the Illinois, and in a short time render themselves masters of all the Ontawa tribes and divert the trade to the English, so that it is absolutely essential to make them our friends or to destroy them.”

✓ * New York.

✓ † Albany, New York.

‡ It must be remembered that La Salle was not exempt from the jealousy and envy which is inspired in souls of little men toward those engaged in great undertakings; and we see this spirit manifested here. La Salle could not have done otherwise than supply fire-arms to the Illinois, who were his friends and the owners of the country, the trade of which he had opened up at great hardship and expense to himself.

§ Gabriel Ribourde.

The Iroquois were not always successful in their western forays. Tradition records two instances in which they were sadly discomfited. The first was an encounter with the Sioux, on an island in the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Des Moines. The tradition of this engagement is preserved in the curious volumes of La Hontan, and is as follows: "March 2nd, 1689, I arrived in the Mississippi. To save the labor of rowing we left our boats to the current, and arrived on the tenth in the island of *Rencontres*, which took its name from the defeat of four hundred Iroquois accomplished there by three hundred Nadouëssis (Sioux)." The story of the encounter is briefly this: A party of four hundred Iroquois having a mind to surprise a certain people in the neighborhood of the Otentas (of whom more anon), marched to the country of the Illinois, where they built canoes and were furnished with provisions. After that they embarked upon the river Mississippi, and were discovered by another little fleet that was sailing down the other side of the same river. The Iroquois crossed over immediately to that island which is since called *Aux Rencontres*. The Nadouëssis, *i. e.*, the other little fleet, being suspicious of some ill design, without knowing what people they were (for they had no knowledge of the *Iroquois* but by hear-say) — upon this suspicion, I say, they tugged hard to come up with them. The two armies posted themselves upon the point of the island, where the two crosses are put down in the map,* and as soon as the *Nadouëssis* came in sight, the Iroquois cried out in the *Illinese* language: '*Who are ye?*' To which the Nadouëssis answered, '*Somebody*'; and putting the same question to the Iroquois, received the same answer. Then the Iroquois put this question to 'em: '*Where are you going?*' '*To hunt buffalo,*' answered the *Nadouëssis*; '*but, pray,*' says the Nadouëssis, '*what is your business?*' '*To hunt men,*' reply'd the Iroquois. '*'Tis well,*' says the Nadouëssis; '*we are men, and so you need go no farther.*' Upon this challenge, the two parties disembarked, and the leader of the *Nadouëssis* cut his canoes to pieces, and, after representing to his warriors that they behoved either to conquer or die, marched up to the Iroquois, who received them at first onset with a cloud of arrows. But the *Nadouëssis* having stood their first discharge, which killed eighty of them, fell in upon them with their clubs in their hands before the others could charge again, and so routed them entirely. This engagement lasted for two hours, and was so hot that two hundred and sixty Iroquois fell upon the spot, and the rest were all taken prisoners. Some of the *Iroquois*, indeed, attempted to make their escape after the action

* On La Hontan's map the place marked is designated by an island in the Mississippi, immediately at the mouth of the Des Moines.

was over; but the victorious general sent ten or twelve of his men to pursue them in one of the canoes that he had taken, and accordingly they were all overtaken and drowned. The Nadonessis having obtained this victory, cut off the noses and ears of two of the cleverest prisoners, and supplying them with fusees, powder and ball, gave them the liberty of returning to their own country, in order to tell their countrymen that they ought not to employ *women* to hunt after *men* any longer.”*

The second tradition is that of a defeat of a war party of Iroquois upon the banks of the stream that now bears the name of “Iroquois River.” Father Charlevoix, in his Narrative Journal, referring to his passage down the Kankakee, in September, 1721, alludes to this defeat of the Iroquois in the following language: “I was not a little surprised at seeing so little water in the The-a-ki-ki, notwithstanding it receives a good many pretty large rivers, one of which is more than a hundred and twenty feet in breadth at its mouth, and has been called the *River of the Iroquois*, because some of that nation were surprised on its banks by the Illinois who killed a great many of them. This check mortified them so much the more, as they held the Illinois in great contempt, who, indeed, for the most part are not able to stand before them.”†

The tradition has been given with fuller particulars to the author, by Colonel Guerdon S. Hubbard, as it was related by the Indians to him. It has not as yet appeared in print, and is valuable as well as interesting, inasmuch as it explains why the Iroquois River has been so called for a period of nearly two centuries, and also because it gives the origin of the name *Watska*.

The tradition is substantially as follows: Many years ago the Iroquois attacked an Indian village situated on the banks of the river a few miles below the old county seat,—Middleport,—and drove out the occupants with great slaughter. The fugitives were collected in the night time some distance away, lamenting their disaster. A woman, possessing great courage, urged the men to return and attack the Iroquois, saying the latter were then rioting in the spoils of the village and exulting over their victory; that they would not expect danger from their defeated enemy, and that the darkness of the night would prevent their knowing the advance upon them. The warriors refused to go. The woman then said that she would raise a party of squaws and return to the village and fight the Iroquois; adding that death or captivity would be the fate of the women and children on the morrow,

* La Fontan's New Voyages to America, vol. 1, pp. 128, 129.

† Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, vol. 2, p. 199.

and that they might as well die in an effort to regain their village and property as to submit to a more dreadful fate. She called for volunteers and the women came forward in large numbers. Seeing the bravery of their wives and daughters the men were ashamed of their cowardice and became inspired with a desperate courage. A plan of attack was speedily formed and successfully executed. The Iroquois, taken entirely unawares, were surprised and utterly defeated.

The name of the heroine who suggested and took an active part in this act of bold retaliation, bore the name of Watch-e-kee. In honor of her bravery and to perpetuate the story of the engagement, a council of the tribe was convened which ordained that when Watch-e-kee died her name should be bestowed upon the most accomplished maiden of the tribe, and in this way be handed down from one generation to another. By such means have the name and the tradition been preserved.

The last person who bore this name was the daughter of a Pottawatomie chief, with whose band Col. Hubbard was intimately associated as a trader for many years. She was well known to many of the old settlers in Danville and upon the Kankakee. She was a person of great beauty, becoming modesty, and possessed of superior intelligence. She had great influence among her own people and was highly respected by the whites. She accompanied her tribe to the westward of the Mississippi, on their removal from the state. The present county seat of Iroquois county is named after her, and Col. Hubbard advises the author that Watseka, as the name is generally spelled, is incorrect, and that the orthography for its true pronunciation should be Watch-e-kee.*

We resume the narration of the decline of the Illinois: La Salle's fortification at Starved Rock gathered about it populous villages of Illinois, Shawnees, Weas, Piankeshaws and other kindred tribes, shown on Franquelin's map as the Colonie Du Sr. de la Salle.† The Iroquois were barred out of the country of the Illinois tribes, and the latter enjoyed security from their old enemies. La Salle himself, speaking of his success in establishing a colony at the Rock, says: "There would be nothing to fear from the Iroquois when the nations of the south,

* The Iroquois also bore the name of *Cun-o-wa-ga*, doubtless an Indian name. It had another aboriginal name, *Mocabella* (which was, probably, a French-Canadian corruption of the Kickapoo word *Mo-qua*), signifying a bear. Beck's Illinois and Missouri Gazetteer, p. 90. The joint commission appointed by the legislatures of Indiana and Illinois to run the boundary line between the two states, in their report in 1821, and upon their map deposited in the archives at Indianapolis, designate the Iroquois by the name of Pick-a-mink River. They also named Sugar Creek after Mr. McDonald, of Vincennes, Indiana, who conducted the surveys for the commission.

† This part of Franquelin's map appears in the well executed frontispiece of Parkinson's Discovery of the Great West.

strengthened through their intercourse with the French, shall stop their conquest, and prevent their being powerful by carrying off a great number of their women and children, which they can easily do from the inferiority of the weapons of their enemies. As respects commerce, that post will probably increase our traffic still more than has been done by the establishment of Fort Frontenac, which was built with success for that purpose; for if the Illinois and their allies were to catch the beavers which the Iroquois now kill in the neighborhood in order to carry them to the English, the latter not being any longer able to get them from their own colonies would be obliged to buy from us, to the great benefit of those who have the privilege of this traffic. These were the views which the Sieur de la Salle had in placing the settlement where it is. The colony has already felt its effects, as all our allies, who had fled after the departure of M. de Frontenac, have returned to their ancient dwellings, in consequence of the confidence caused by the fort, near which they have defeated a party of Iroquois, and have built four forts to protect themselves from hostile incursions. The Governor, M. de la Barre, and the intendant, M. de Muelles, have told Sieur de la Salle that they would write to Monseigneur to inform him of the importance of that fort in order to keep the Iroquois in check, and that M. de Sagny had proposed its establishment in 1678. Monsiegnieur Colbert permitted Sieur de la Salle to build it, and granted it to him as a property."*

The fort at *Le Rocher* (the rock) was constructed on its summit in 1682, and enclosed with a palisade. It was subsequently granted to Tonti and Forest.† It was abandoned as a military post in the year 1702; and when Charlevoix went down the Illinois in 1721 he passed the Rock, and said of it: "This is the point of a very high terrace stretching the space of two hundred paces, and bending or winding with the course of the river. This rock is steep on all sides, and at a distance one would take it for a fortress. Some remains of a palisado are still to be seen on it, the Illinois having formerly cast up an entrenchment here, which might be easily repaired in case of any interruption of the enemy."‡

The abandonment of Fort St. Louis in 1702 was followed soon after by a dispersion of the tribes and remnants of tribes that La Salle and Tonti had gathered about it, except the straggling village of the Illinois.

* Memoir of the Sieur de la Salle, reporting to Monseigneur de Seingelay the discoveries made by him under the order of His Majesty. Historical Collections of Louisiana, Part 1, p. 42.

† Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 494.

‡ Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, vol. 2, p. 200.

The Iroquois came no more subsequent to 1721, having war enough on their hands nearer home; but the Illinois were constantly harassed by other enemies; the Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos and Pottawatomies. In 1722 their villages at the Rock and on Peoria Lake were besieged by the Foxes, and a detachment of a hundred men under Chevalier de Artaguet and Sieur de Tisé were sent to their assistance. Forty of these French soldiers, with four hundred Indians, marched by land to Peoria Lake. However, before the reinforcements reached their destination they learned that the Foxes had retreated with a loss of more than a hundred and twenty of their men. "This success did not, however, prevent the Illinois, although they had only lost twenty men, with some women and children, from leaving the Rock and Pimiteony, where they were kept in constant alarm, and proceeding to unite with those of their brethren who had settled on the Mississippi; this was a stroke of grace for most of them, the small number of missionaries preventing their supplying so many towns scattered far apart; but on the other side, as there was nothing to check the raids of the Foxes along the Illinois River, communication between Louisiana and New France became much less practicable."*

The fatal dissolution of the Illinois still proceeded, and their ancient homes and hunting grounds were appropriated by the more vigorous Sacs, Foxes, Pottawatomies and Kickapoos. The killing of Pontiac at Cahokia, whither he had retired after the failure of his effort to rescue the country from the English, was laid upon the Illinois, a charge which, whether true or false, hastened the climax of their destruction.

General Harrison stated that "the Illinois confederacy was composed of five tribes: the Kaskaskias, Cahokias, Peorians, Michiganians and the Tamarois, speaking the Miami language, and no doubt branches of that nation. When I was first appointed Governor of the Indiana Territory (May, 1800), these once powerful tribes were reduced to about thirty warriors, of whom twenty-five were Kaskaskias, four Peorians, and a single Michiganian. There was an individual lately alive at St. Louis who saw the enumeration made of them by the Jesuits in 1745, making the number of their warriors four thousand. A furious war between them and the Sacs and Kickapoos reduced them to that miserable remnant which had taken refuge amongst the white people in the towns of Kaskaskia and St. Genieve."†

* History of New France, vol. 6, p. 71.

† Official letter of Gen. Harrison to Hon. John Armstrong, Secretary of War, dated at Cincinnati, March 22, 1814: contained in Captain M'Affee's "History of the Late War in the Western Country."

By successive treaties their lands in Illinois were ceded to the United States, and they were removed west of the Missouri. In 1872 they had dwindled to forty souls — men, women and children all told.

Thus have wasted away the original occupants of the larger part of Illinois and portions of Iowa and Missouri. In 1684 their single village at La Salle's colony, could muster twelve hundred warriors. In the days of their strength they nearly exterminated the Winnebagoes, and their war parties penetrated the towns of the Iroquois in the valleys of the Mohawk and Genesee. They took the Metchigamis under their protection, giving them security against enemies with whom the latter could not contend. This people who had dominated over the surrounding tribes, claiming for themselves the name Illini or Linneway, to represent their superior manhood, have disappeared from the earth; another race, representing a higher civilization, occupy their ancient domains, and already, even the origin of their name and the location of their cities have become the subjects of speculation.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE MIAMIS—THE MIAMI, PIANKESHAW, AND WEA BANDS.

THE people known to us as the Miamis formerly dwelt beyond the Mississippi, and, according to their own traditions, came originally from the Pacific. "If what I have heard asserted in several places be true, the Illinois and Miamis came from the banks of a very distant sea to the westward. It would seem that their first stand, after they made their first descent into this country, was at *Moingona*.^{*} At least it is certain that one of their tribes bears that name. The rest are known under the name of Peorias, Tamaroas, Caoquias and Kaskaskias."

The migration of the Miamis from the west of the Mississippi, eastward through Wisconsin and northern Illinois, around the southern end of Lake Michigan to Detroit, and thence up the Maumee and down the Wabash, and eastward through Indiana into Ohio as far as the Great Miami, can be followed through the mass of records handed down to us from the missionaries, travelers and officers connected with the French. Speaking of the mixed village of Maskoutens, situated on Fox River, Wisconsin, at the time of his visit there in 1670, Father Claude Dablon says the village of the Fire-nation "is joined in the circle of the same barriers to another people, named Oumiami, which is one of the Illinois nations, which is, as it were, dismembered from the others, in order to dwell in these quarters.† It is beyond this great river‡ that are placed the Illinois of whom we speak, and from whom are detached those who dwell here with the Fire-nation to form here a transplanted colony."

From the quotations made there remains little doubt that the Miamis were originally a branch of the great Illinois nation. This theory is confirmed by writers of our own time, among whom we may mention General William H. Harrison, whose long acquaintance and official connection with the several bands of the Miamis and Illinois gave him

^{*} Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, vol. 2, p. 227. *Moingona*, from undoubted authorities, was a name given to the Des Moines River; and we find on the original map, drawn by Marquette, the village of the *Moingona* placed on the Des Moines above a village of the *Peorias* on the same stream.

† Father Dablon is here describing the same village referred to by Father Marquette in that part of his Journal which we have copied on page 44.

‡ The Mississippi, of which the missionary had been speaking in the paragraph preceding that which we quote.

the opportunities, of which he availed himself, to acquire an intimate knowledge concerning them. "Although the language, manners and customs of the Kaskaskias make it sufficiently certain that they derived their origin from the same source with the Miamis, the connection had been dissolved before the French had penetrated from Canada to the Mississippi."* The assertion of General Harrison that the tribal relation between the Illinois and Miamis had been broken at the time of the discovery of the Upper Mississippi valley by the French is sustained with great unanimity by all other authorities. In the long and disastrous wars waged upon the Illinois by the Iroquois, Sacs and Foxes, Kickapoos and other enemies, we have no instance given where the Miamis ever offered assistance to their ancient kinsmen. (After the separation, on the contrary, they often lifted the bloody hatchet against them.)

Father Dablon, in the narrative from which we have quoted,† gives a detailed account of the civility of the Miamis at Mascouten, and the formality and court routine with which their great chief was surrounded. "The chief of the Miamis, whose name was *Tatinchoua*, was surrounded by the most notable people of the village, who, assuming the rôle of courtiers, with civil posture full of deference, and keeping always a respectful silence, magnified the greatness of their king. The chief and his routine gave Father Dablon every mark of their most distinguished esteem. The physiognomy of the chief was as mild and as attractive as any one could wish to see; and while his reputation as a warrior was great, his features bore a softness which charmed all those who beheld him."

Nicholas Perrot, with Sieur de St. Lussin, dispatched by Talon, the intendant, to visit the westward nations, with whom the French had intercourse, and invite them to a council to be held the following spring at the Sault Ste. Marie, was at this Miami village shortly after the visit of Dablon. Perrot was treated with great consideration by the Miamis. Tatinchoua "sent out a detachment to meet the French agent and receive him in military style. The detachment advanced in battle array, all the braves adorned with feathers, armed at all points, were uttering war cries from time to time. The Pottawatomies who escorted Perrot, seeing them come in this guise, prepared to receive them in the same manner, and Perrot put himself at their head. When the two troops were in face of each other, they stopped as if to take breath, then all at once Perrot took the right, the Miamis the left, all running in Indian file, as though they wished to gain an advantage to charge.

✓ * Memoirs of General Harrison, by Moses Dawson, p. 62.

† Relations, 1670, 1671.

"But the Miamis wheeling in the form of an arc, the Pottawatomies were invested on all sides. Then both uttered loud yells, which were the signals for a kind of combat. The Miamis fired a volley from their guns, which were only loaded with powder, and the Pottawatomies returned it in the same way; after this they closed, tomahawk in hand, all the blows being received on the tomahawks. Peace was then made; the Miamis presented the calumet to Perrot, and led him with all his chief escort into the town, where the great chief assigned him a guard of fifty men, regaled him magnificently after the custom of the country, and gave him the diversion of a game of ball."* The Miami chief never spoke to his subjects, but imparted his orders through some of his officers. On account of his advanced age he was dissuaded from attending the council to be held at Ste. Marie, between the French and the Indians; however, he deputized the Pottawatomies to act in his name.

This confederacy called themselves "Miamis," and by this name were known to the surrounding tribes. The name was not bestowed upon them by the French, as some have assumed from its resemblance to *Mon-ami*, because they were the *friends* of the latter. When Hennepin was captured on the Mississippi by a war party of the Sioux, these savages, with their painted faces rendered more hideous by the devilish contortions of their features, cried out in angry voices, "*Mia-hama! Mia-hama!*" and we made signs with our oars upon the sand, that the Miamis, their enemies, of whom they were in search, had passed the river upon their flight to join the Illinois."†

"The confederacy which obtained the general appellation of Miamis, from the superior numbers of the individual tribe to whom that name more properly belonged," were subdivided into three principal tribes or bands, namely, the Miamis proper, Weas and Piankeshaws. French writers have given names to two or three other subdivisions or families of the three principal bands, whose identity has never been clearly traced, and who figure so little in the accounts which we have of the Miamis, that it is not necessary here to specify their obsolete names. The different ways of writing

* History of New France, vol. 3, pp. 166, 167. Father Charlevoix improperly locates this village, where Perrot was received, at "Chicago, at the lower end of Lake Michigan, where the Miamis then were," page 166, above quoted. The Miamis were not then at Chicago. The reception of Perrot was at the mixed village on Fox River, Wisconsin, as stated in the text. The error of Charlevoix, as to the location of this village, has been pointed out by Dr. Shea, in a note on page 166, in the "History of New France," and also by Francis Parkman, in a note on page 40 of his "Discovery of the Great West."

† Hennepin, p. 187.

Miamis are: Oumiamwek,* Oumamis,† Maunees,‡ Au-Miami § (contracted to Au-Mi and Omce) and Mine-ami. ||

The French called the Weas Ouiatenons, Syatanons, Ouyatanons and Ouias; the English and Colonial traders spelled the word, Onicatanon, ¶ Way-ough-ta nies, ** Wawiachtens, †† and Wehahs. ‡‡

For the Piankeshaws, or *Pou-an-ke-ki-as*, as they were called in the earliest accounts, we have Peanguichias, Pian-gui-shaws, Pyanke-shas and Pianquishas.

The Miami tribes were known to the Iroquois, or Five Nations of New York, as the *Twight-wees*, a name generally adopted by the British, as well as by the American colonists. Of this name there are various corruptions in pronunciation and spelling, examples of which we have in "Twich-twichs," "Twick-twicks," "Twis-twicks," "Twigh-twees," and "Twick-tovies." The insertion of these many names, applied to one people, would seem a tedious superfluity, were it otherwise possible to retain the identity of the tribes to which these different appellations have been given by the French, British and American officers, traders and writers. It will save the reader much perplexity in pursuing a history of the Miamis if it is borne in mind that all these several names refer to the Miami nation or to one or the other of its respective bands.

Besides the colony mentioned by Dablon and Charlevoix, on the Fox River of Wisconsin, Hennepin informs us of a village of Miamis south and west of Peoria Lake at the time he was at the latter place in 1679, and it was probably this village whose inhabitants the Sioux were seeking. St. Cosmie, in 1699, mentions the "village of the Peanzichias-Miamis, who formerly dwelt on the — of the Mississippi, and who had come some years previous and settled' on the Illinois River, a few miles below the confluence of the Des Plaines." §§

The Miamis were within the territory of La Salle's colony, of which Starved Rock was the center, and counted thirteen hundred warriors. The Weas and Piankeshaws were also there, the former having five hundred warriors and the Piankeshaw band one hundred and fifty. This was prior to 1687. || At a later day the Weas "were at Chicago, but being afraid of the canoe people, left it." ¶¶ Sieur de Courtmanche, sent westward in 1701 to negotiate with the tribes in that part of New France, was at "Chicago, where he found some

* Marquette. † La Hontan. ‡ Gen. Harrison. § Gen. Harmar. || Lewis Evans.

¶ George Croghan's Narrative Journal. ** Croghan's List of Indian Tribes.

†† John Heckwelder, a Moravian Missionary. ‡‡ Catlin's Indian Tribes.

✓ §§ St. Cosmie's Journal in "Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi," p. 58.

|| Parkman's Discovery of the Great West, note on p. 290.

¶¶ Memoir on the Indian tribes, prepared in 1718: Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 890.

Weas (Ouiatanons), a Miami tribe, who had sung the war-song against the Sioux and the Iroquois. He obliged them to lay down their arms and extorted from them a promise to send deputies to Montreal." *

In a letter dated in 1721, published in his "Narrative Journal," Father Charlevoix, speaking of the Miamis about the head of Lake Michigan, says: "Fifty years ago the Miamis were settled on the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, in a place called Chicagou, from the name of a small river which runs into the lake, the source of which is not far distant from that of the river of the Illinois; they are at present divided into three villages, one of which stands on the river St. Joseph, the second on another river which bears their name and runs into Lake Erie, and the third upon the river Onabache, which empties its waters into the Mississippi. These last are better known by the appellation of Ouyatanons." †

In 1694, Count Frontenac, in a conference with the Western Indians, requested the Miamis of the Pepikokia band who resided on the Maramek,‡ to remove, and join the tribe which was located on the Saint Joseph, of Lake Michigan. The reason for this request, as stated by Frontenac himself, was, that he wished the different bands of the Miami confederacy to unite, "so as to be able to execute with greater facility the commands which he might issue." At that time the Iroquois were at war with Canada, and the French were endeavoring to persuade the western tribes to take up the tomahawk in their behalf. The Miamis promised to observe the Governor's wishes and began to make preparations for the removal.§

Late in August, 1696, they started to join their brethren settled on the St. Joseph. On their way they were attacked by the Sioux, who killed several. The Miamis of the St. Joseph, learning this hostility, resolved to avenge their slaughter. They pursued the Sioux to their own country, and found them entrenched in their fort with some Frenchmen of the class known as coureurs des bois (bush-lopers). They nevertheless attacked them repeatedly with great resolution, but were repulsed, and at last compelled to retire, after losing several of their braves. On their way home, meeting other Frenchmen carrying arms and ammunition to the Sioux, they seized all they had, but did them no harm." ¶

The Miamis were very much enraged at the French for supplying

* History of New France, vol. 5, p. 142.

† Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, vol. 1, p. 287.

‡ The Kalamazoo, of Michigan.

§ Paris Documents, vol. 9, pp. 624, 625.

¶ Charlevoix' History of New France, vol. 5, p. 65.

their enemies, the Sioux, with guns and ammunition. It took all the address of Count Frontenac to prevent them from joining the ✓ Iroquois; indeed, they seized upon the French agent and trader, ✓ Nicholas Perrot, who had been commissioned to lead the Maramek band to the St. Josephs, and would have burnt him alive had it not been for the Foxes, who interposed in his behalf.* This was the commencement of the bitter feeling of hostility with which, from that time, a part of the Miamis always regarded the French. From this period the movements of the tribe were observed by the French with jealous suspicion. ✓

We have already shown that in 1699 the Miamis were at Fort Wayne, engaged in transferring across their portage emigrants from Canada to Louisiana, and that, within a few years after, the Weas are described as having their fort and several miles of cultivated fields on the Wea plains below La Fayette.† From the extent and character of these improvements, it may be safely assumed that the Weas had been established here some years prior to 1718, the date of the Memoir.

When the French first discovered the Wabash, the Piankeshaws were found in possession of the land on either side of that stream, from its mouth to the Vermilion River, and no claim had ever been made to it by any other tribe until 1804, the period of a cession of a part of it to the United States by the Delawares, who had obtained their title from the Piankeshaws themselves.‡

We have already seen that at the time of the first account we have relating to the Maunnee and the Wabash, the Miamis had villages and extensive improvements near Fort Wayne, on the Wea prairie below La Fayette, on the Vermilion of the Wabash, and at Vincennes. At a later day they established villages at other places, ✓ viz, near the forks of the Wabash at Huntington, on the Mississinewa,§ on Eel River near Logansport, while near the source of this river, and westward of Fort Wayne, was the village of the "Little Turtle." ✓ Near the mouth of the Tippecanoe was a sixth village.

* Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 672.

† *Ibid.*, p. 104.

‡ *Memoirs of General Harrison*, pp. 61, 63.

§ This stream empties into the Wabash near Peru, and on the opposite side of the river from that city. The word is a compound of *missi*, great, and *assin*, stone, signifying the river of the great or much stone. "The Mississinewa, with its pillared rocks, is full of geological as well as romantic interest. Some three miles from Peru the channel is cut through a solid wall of cherty silico-magnesian limestone. The action of the river and unequal disintegration of the rocks has carved the precipitous wall, which converts the river's course into a system of pillars, rounded buttresses, alcoves, chambers and overhanging sides." Prof. Collett's Report on the Geology of Miami county, Indiana.

Passing below the Vermilion, the Miamis had other villages, one on Sugar creek* and another near Terre Haute.†

The country of the Miamis extended west to the watershed between the Illinois and Wabash rivers, which separated their possessions from those of their brethren, the Illinois. On the north were the Pottawatomies, who were slowly but steadily pushing their lines southward into the territory of the Miamis. The superior numbers of the Miamis and their great valor enabled them to extend the limit of their hunting grounds eastward into Ohio, and far within the territory claimed by the Iroquois. "They were the undoubted proprietors of all that beautiful country watered by the Wabash and its tributaries, and there remains as little doubt that their claim extended as far east as the Scioto."‡

Unlike the Illinois, the Miamis held their own until they were placed upon an equal footing with the tribes eastward by obtaining possession of fire-arms. With these implements of civilized warfare they were able to maintain their tribal integrity and the independence they cherished. They were not to be controlled by the French, nor did they suffer enemies from any quarter to impose upon them without prompt retaliation. They traded and fought with the French, English and Americans as their interests or passions inclined. They made peace or declared war against other nations of their own race as policy or caprice dictated. More than once they compelled even the arrogant Iroquois to beg from the governors of the American colonies that protection which they themselves had failed to secure by their own prowess. Bold, independent and flushed with success, the Miamis afforded a poor field for missionary work, and the Jesuit Relations and pastoral letters of the French priesthood have less to say of the Miami confederacy than any of the other western tribes, the Kickapoos alone excepted.

The country of the Miamis was accessible, by way of the lakes, to the fur trader of Canada, and from the eastward, to the adventurers engaged in the Indian trade from Pennsylvania, New York and Virginia, either by way of the Ohio River or a commerce carried on overland by means of pack-horses. The English and the French alike coveted their peltries and sought their powerful alli-

* This stream was at one time called Rocky River, vide Brown's Western Gazetteer. By the Wea Miamis it was called Pun-go-se-con-e, "Sugar tree" (creek), vide statement of Mary Ann Baptiste to the author.

† The villages below the Vermilion and above Vincennes figure on some of the early English maps and in accounts given by traders as the lower or little Wea towns. Besides these, which were the principal ones, the Miamis had a village at Thorntown, and many others of lesser note on the Wabash and its tributaries.

‡ Official Letter of General Harrison to the Secretary of War, before quoted.

ance, therefore the Miamis were harassed with the jealousies and diplomacy of both, and if they or a part of their several tribes became inveigled into an alliance with the one, it involved the hostility of the other. The French government sought to use them to check the westward advance of the British colonial influence, while the latter desired their assistance to curb the French, whose ambitious schemes involved nothing less than the exclusive subjugation of the entire continent westward of the Alleghanies. In these wars between the English and the French the Miamis were constantly reduced in numbers, and whatever might have been the result to either of the former, it only ended in disaster to themselves. Sometimes they divided; again they were entirely devoted to the interest of the English and Iroquois. Then they joined the French against the British and Iroquois, and when the British ultimately obtained the mastery and secured the valley of the Mississippi,—the long sought for prize,—the Miamis entered the confederacy of Pontiac to drive them out of the country. They fought with the British,—except the Piankeshaw band,—against the colonies during the revolutionary war. After its close their young men were largely occupied in the predatory warfare waged by the several Maumee and Wabash tribes upon the frontier settlements of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky. They likewise entered the confederacy of Tecumseh, and, either openly or in secret sympathy, they were the allies of the British in the war of 1812. Their history occupies a conspicuous place in the military annals of the west, extending over a period of a century, during which time they maintained a manly struggle to retain possession of their homes in the valleys of the Wabash and Maumee.

The disadvantage under which the Miamis labored, in encounters with their enemies, before they obtained fire-arms, was often overcome by the exercise of their cunning and bravery. In the year 1680 the Miamis and Illinois were hunting on the St. Joseph River. A party of four hundred Iroquois surprised them and killed thirty or forty of their hunters and captured three hundred of their women and children. After the victors had rested awhile they prepared to return to their homes by easy journeys, as they had reason to believe that they could reach their own villages before the defeated enemy would have time to rally and give notice of their disaster to those of their nation who were hunting in remoter places. But they were deceived: for the Illinois and Miamis rallied to the number of two hundred, and resolved to die fighting rather than suffer their women and children to be carried away. In the meantime, because they

were not equal to their enemies in equipment of arms or numbers, they contrived a notable stratagem.

After the Miamis had duly considered in what way they would attack the Iroquois, they decided to follow them, keeping a small distance in the rear, until it should rain. The heavens seemed to favor their plan, for, after awhile it began to rain, and rained continually the whole day from morning until night. When the rain began to fall the Miamis quickened their march and passed by the Iroquois, and took a position two leagues in advance, where they lay in an ambuscade, hidden by the tall grass, in the middle of a prairie, which the Iroquois had to cross in order to reach the woods beyond, where they designed to kindle fires and encamp for the night. The Illinois and Miamis, lying at full length in the grass on either side of the trail, waited until the Iroquois were in their midst, when they shot off their arrows, and then attacked vigorously with their clubs. The Iroquois endeavored to use their fire-arms, but finding them of no service because the rain had dampened and spoiled the priming, threw them upon the ground, and undertook to defend themselves with their clubs. In the use of the latter weapon the Iroquois were no match for their more dexterous and nimble enemies. They were forced to yield the contest, and retreated, fighting until night came on. They lost one hundred and eighty of their warriors.

The fight lasted about an hour, and would have continued through the night, were it not that the Miamis and Illinois feared that their women and children (left in the rear and bound) would be exposed to some surprise in the dark. The victors rejoined their women and children, and possessed themselves of the fire-arms of their enemies. The Miamis and Illinois then returned to their own country, without taking one Iroquois for fear of weakening themselves.*

Failing in their first efforts to withdraw the Miamis from the French, and secure their fur trade to the merchants at Albany and New York, the English sent their allies, the Iroquois, against them. A series of encounters between the two tribes was the result, in

* This account is taken from La Hontan, vol. 2, pp. 63, 64 and 65. The facts concerning the engagement, as given by La Hontan, may be relied upon as substantially correct, for they were written only a few years after the event. La Hontan, as appears from the date of his letters which comprise the principal part of his volumes, was in this country from November, 1683, to 1689, and it was during this time that he was collecting the information contained in his works. The place where this engagement between the Miamis and Illinois against the Iroquois occurred, is a matter of doubt. Some late commentators claim that it was upon the Maumee. La Hontan says that the engagement was "near the river Oumamis." When he wrote, the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan was called the river Oumamis, and on the map accompanying La Hontan's volume it is so-called, while the Maumee, though laid down on the map, is designated by no name whatever. It would, therefore, appear that when La Hontan mentioned the Miami River he referred to the St. Joseph.

which the blood of both was profusely shed, to further the purposes of a purely commercial transaction.

In these engagements the Senecas—a tribe of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, residing to the west of the other tribes of the confederacy, and, in consequence, being nearest to the Miamis, and more directly exposed to their fury—were nearly destroyed at the outset. The Miamis followed up their success and drove the Senecas behind the palisades that inclosed their villages. For three years the war was carried on with a bitterness only known to exasperated savages.

When at last the Iroquois saw they could no longer defend themselves against the Miamis, they appeared in council before the Governor of New York, and, pittingly, claimed protection from him, who, to say the least, had remained silent and permitted his own people to precipitate this calamity upon them.

“You say you will support us against all your kings and our enemies; we will then forbear keeping any more correspondence with the French of Canada if the great King of England will defend our people from the *Twichtwicks* and other nations over whom the French have an influence and have encouraged to destroy an abundance of our people, *even since the peace between the two crowns*,” etc.*

The governor declined sending troops to protect the Iroquois against their enemies, but informed them: “You must be sensible that the Dowaganiahs, Twichtwicks, etc., and other remote Indians, are vastly more numerous than you Five Nations, and that, by their continued warring upon you, they will, in a few years, totally destroy you. I should, therefore, think it prudence and good policy *in you to try* all possible means to fix a trade and correspondence with all those nations, by which means *you would reconcile* them to yourselves, and with my assistance, I am in hopes that, in a short time, they might be united with us in the covenant chain, and then you might, at all times, without hazard, go hunting into their country, which, I understand, is much the best for beaver. I wish you would try to bring some of them to speak to me, and perhaps I might prevail upon them to come and live amongst you. I should think myself obliged to reward you for such a piece of service as I tender your good advantage, and will always use my best endeavor to preserve you from all your enemies.”

* Speech of an Iroquois chief at a conference held at Albany, August 26, 1700, between Richard, Earl of Belmont, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of His Majesty's provinces of New York, etc., and the sachems of the Five Nations. New York Colonial Documents, vol. 4, p. 729.

The conference continued several days, during which the Iroquois stated their grievances in numerous speeches, to which the governor graciously replied, using vague terms and making no promises, after the manner of the extract from his speech above quoted, but placed great stress on the value of the fur trade to the English, and enjoining his brothers, the Iroquois, to bring all their peltries to Albany; to maintain their old alliance with the English, offensive and defensive, and have no intercourse whatever, of a friendly nature, with the rascally French of Canada.

The Iroquois declined to follow the advice of the governor, deeming it of little credit to their courage to sue for peace. In the meantime the governor sent emissaries out among the Miamis, with an invitation to open a trade with the English. The messengers were captured by the commandant at Detroit, and sent, as prisoners, to Canada. However, the Miamis, in July, 1702, sent, through the sachems of the Five Nations, a message to the governor at Albany, advising him that many of the Miamis, with another nation, had removed to, and were then living at, Tjughsaghrondie,* near by the fort which the French had built the previous summer; that they had been informed that one of their chiefs, who had visited Albany two years before, had been kindly treated, and that they had now come forward to inquire into the trade of Albany, and see if goods could not be purchased there cheaper than elsewhere, and that they had intended to go to Canada with their beaver and peltries, but that they ventured to Albany to inquire if goods could not be secured on better terms. The governor replied that he was extremely pleased to speak with the Miamis about the establishment of a lasting friendship and trade, and in token of his sincere intentions presented his guests with guns, powder, hats, strouds, tobacco and pipes, and sent ✓ to their brethren at Detroit, waumpum, pipes, shells, nose and ear jewels, looking-glasses, fans, children's toys, and such other light articles as his guests could conveniently carry; and, finally, assured them that the Miamis might come freely to Albany, where they would be treated kindly, and receive, in exchange for their peltries, everything as cheap as any other Indians in covenant of friendship with the English.†

During the same year (1702) the Miamis and Senecas settled their quarrels, exchanged prisoners, and established a peace between themselves.‡

* The Iroquois name for the Straits of Detroit.

† Proceedings of a conference between the parties mentioned above. New York Colonial Documents, vol. 4, pp. 979 to 981.

‡ New York Colonial Documents, vol. 4, p. 989.

The French were not disposed to allow a portion of the fur trade to be diverted to Albany. Peaceable means were first used to dissuade the Miamis from trading with the English; failing in this, forcible means were resorted to. Captain Antoine De La Mothe Cadillac marched against the Miamis and reduced them to terms.*

The Miamis were not unanimous in the choice of their friends. Some adhered to the French, while others were strongly inclined to trade with the English, of whom they could obtain a better quality of goods at cheaper rates, while at the same time they were allowed a greater price for their furs. Cadillac had hardly effected a coercive peace with the Miamis before the latter were again at Albany. "I have," writes Lord Cornbury to the Board of Trade, in a letter dated August 20, 1708,† "been there five years endeavoring to get these nations [referring to the Miamis and another nation] to trade with our people, but the French have always dissuaded them from coming until this year, when, goods being very scarce, they came to Albany, where our people have supplied them with goods much cheaper than ever the French did, and they promise to return in the spring with a much greater number of their nations, which would be a very great advantage to this province. I did, in a letter of the 25th day of June last, inform your Lordships that three French soldiers, having deserted from the French at a place they call Le Dèstrois, came to Albany. Another deserter came from the same place, whom I examined myself, and I inclose a copy of his examination, by which your Lordships will perceive how easily the *French may be beaten out of Canada*. The better I am acquainted with this country, and the more I inquire into matters, so much the more I am confirmed in my opinion of the facility of effecting that conquest, and by the method I then proposed."

Turning to French documents we find that Sieur de Callier desired the Miamis to withdraw from their several widely separated villages and settle in a body upon the St. Joseph. At a great council of the westward tribes, held in Montreal in 1694,‡ the French Intendant, in a speech to the Miamis, declares that "he will not believe that the Miamis wish to obey him until they make altogether one and the same fire, either at the River St. Joseph or at some other place adjoining it. He tells them that he has got near the Iroquois, and has soldiers at Katarakoui,§ in the fort that had been abandoned; that the Miamis must get near the enemy, in order to imitate him

* Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 671: note of the editor.

† New York Colonial Documents, vol. 5, p. 65.

‡ At Fort Frontenac.

(the Intendant), and be able to strike the Iroquois the more readily. My children," continued the Intendant, "tell me that the Miamis are numerous, and able of themselves to destroy the Iroquois. Like them, all are afraid. What! do you wish to abandon your country to your enemy? . . . Have you forgotten that I waged war against him, principally on your account, alone? Your dead are no longer visible in his country; their bodies are covered by those of the French who have perished to avenge them. I furnished you the means to avenge them, likewise. It depends only on me to receive the Iroquois as a friend, which I will not do on account of you, who would be destroyed were I to make peace without including you in its terms." *

"I have heard," writes Governor Vaudreuil, in a letter dated the 28th of October, 1719, to the Council of Marine at Paris, "that the Miamis had resolved to remain where they were, and not go to the St. Joseph River, and that this resolution of theirs was dangerous, on account of the facility they would have of communicating with the English, who were incessantly distributing belts secretly among the nations, to attract them to themselves, and that Sieur Dubinson had been designed to command the post of Ouaytanons, where he should use his influence among the Miamis to induce them to go to the River St. Joseph, and in case they were not willing, that he should remain with them, to counteract the effect of those belts, which had already caused eight or ten Miami canoes to go that year to trade at Albany, and which might finally induce all of the Miami nation to follow the example."† Finally, some twenty-five years later, as we learn from the letter of M. de Beauharnois, that ✓ this French officer, having learned that the English had established trading magazines on the Ohio, issued his orders to the commandants among the Weas and Miamis, to drive the British off by force of arms and plunder their stores.‡

Other extracts might be drawn from the voluminous reports of the military and civil officers of the French and British colonial governments respectively, to the same purport as those already quoted; but enough has been given to illustrate the unfortunate ✓ position of the Miamis. For a period of half a century they were placed between the cutting edges of English and French purposes, during which there was no time when they were not threatened with danger of, or engaged in, actual war either with the French or the English, or with some of their several Indian allies.

* Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 625.

† Ibid, p. 894.

‡ Ibid, p. 1105.

By this continual abrasion, the peace and happiness which should have been theirs was wholly lost, and their numbers constantly reduced. They had no relief from the strife, in which only injury could result to themselves, let the issue have been what it might between the English and the French, until the power of the latter was finally destroyed in 1763; and even then, after the French had given up the country, the Miamis were compelled to defend their own title to it against the arrogant claims of the English. In the effort of the combined westward tribes to wrest their country from the English, subsequent to the close of the colonial war, the Miamis took a conspicuous part. This will be noticed in a subsequent chapter. After the conclusion of the revolutionary war, the several Miami villages from the Vermilion River to Fort Wayne suffered severely from the attacks of the federal government under General Harmer, and the military expeditions recruited in Kentucky, and commanded by Colonels Scott and Wilkinson. Besides these disasters, whole villages were nearly depopulated by the ravages of small-pox. The uncontrollable thirst for whisky, acquired, through a long course of years, by contact with unscrupulous traders, reduced their numbers still more, while it degraded them to the last degree. This was their condition in 1814, when General Harrison said of them: "The Miamis will not be in our way. They are a poor, miserable, drunken set, diminishing every year. Becoming too lazy to hunt, they feel the advantage of their annuities. The fear of the other Indians has alone prevented them from selling their whole claim to the United States; and as soon as there is peace, or when the British can no longer intrigue, they will sell."* The same authority, in his historical address at Cincinnati in 1838, on the aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio, says: "At any time before the treaty of Greenville in 1795 the Miamis alone could have furnished more than three thousand warriors. Constant war with our frontier had deprived them of many of their braves, but the ravages of small-pox was the principal cause of the great decrease in their numbers. They composed, however, a body of the *finest light troops in the world*. And had they been under an efficient system of discipline, or possessed enterprise equal to their valor, the settlement of the country would have been attended with much greater difficulty than was encountered in accomplishing it, and their final subjugation would have been delayed for some years."†

Yet their decline, from causes assigned, was so rapid, that when

* Official letter of General Harrison to the Secretary of War, of date March 24, 1814.
† P. 39 of General Harrison's address, original pamphlet edition.

the Baptist missionary, Isaac McCoy, was among them from 1817 until 1822, and drawing conclusions from personal contact, declared that the Miamis were not a warlike people. There is, perhaps, in the history of the North American Indians, no instance parallel to the utter demoralization of the Miamis, nor an example of a tribe which stood so high and had fallen so low through the practice of all the vices which degrade human beings. Mr. McCoy, within the period named, traveled up and down the Wabash, from Terre Haute to Fort Wayne; and at the villages near Montezuma, on Eel River, at the Mississinewa and Fort Wayne, there were continuous rounds of drunken debauchery whenever whisky could be obtained, of which men, women and children all partook, and life was often sacrificed in personal broils or by exposure of the debauchees to the inclemency of the weather.*

By treaties, entered into at various times, from 1795 to 1845, inclusive, the Miamis ceded their lands in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, and removed west of the Mississippi, going in villages or by detachments, from time to time. At a single session in 1838 they sold the government 177,000 acres of land in Indiana, which was only a fragment of their former possessions, still retaining a large tract. Thus they alienated their heritage, and gradually disappeared from the valleys of the Maumee and Wabash. A few remained on their reservations and adapted themselves to the ways of the white people, and their descendants may be occasionally met with about Peru, Wabash and Fort Wayne. The money received from sales of their lands proved to them a calamity, rather than a blessing, as it introduced the most demoralizing habits. It is estimated that within a period of eighteen years subsequent to the close of the war of 1812 more than five hundred of them perished in drunken broils and fights.†

The last of the Miamis to go westward were the Mississinewa band. This remnant, comprising in all three hundred and fifty persons, under charge of Christmas Dagney,‡ left their old home in the

* Mr. McCoy has contributed a valuable fund of original information in his History of Baptist Indian Missions, published in 1840. The volume contains six hundred and eleven pages. He mentions many instances of drunken orgies which he witnessed in the several Miami towns. We quote one of them: "An intoxicated Indian at Fort Wayne dismounted from his horse and ran up to a young Indian woman who was his sister-in-law, with a knife in his hand. She first ran around one of the company present, and then another, to avoid the murderer, but in vain. He stabbed her with his knife. She then fled from the company. He stood looking after her, and seeing she did not fall, pursued her, threw her to the earth and drove his knife into her heart, in the presence of the whole company, none of whom ventured to save the girl's life." P. 85.

† Vide American Cyclopædia, vol. 11, p. 490.

‡ His name was, also, spelled Dazney and Dagnet. He was born on the 25th of December, 1799, at the Wea village of Old Orchard Town, or *We-au-ta-no*, "The Risen Sun," situated two miles below Fort Harrison. His father, Ambrose Dagney,

fall of 1846, and reached Cincinnati on canal-boats in October of that year. Here they were placed upon a steamboat and taken down the Ohio, up the Mississippi and Missouri, and landed late in the season at Westport, near Kansas City. Ragged men and nearly naked women and children, forming a motley group, were huddled upon the shore, alone, with no friends to relieve their wants, and exposed to the bitter December winds that blew from the chilly plains of Kansas. In 1670 the Jesuit Father Dablon introduces the Miamis to our notice at the village of Maskoutench, where we see the chief surrounded by his officers of state in all the routine of barbaric display, and the natives of other tribes paying his subjects the greatest deference. The Miamis, advancing eastward, in the rear of the line of their valorous warriors, pushed their villages into Michigan, Indiana, and as far as the river still bearing their name in Ohio. Coming in collision with the French, English and Americans, reduced by constant wars, and decimated, more than all, with vices contracted by intercourse with the whites, whose virtues they failed to emulate, they make a westward turn, and having, in the progress of time, described the round of a most singular journey, we at last behold the miserable and friendless remnant on the same side of the

- ✓ was a Frenchman, a native of Kaskaskia, and served during Harrison's campaign against the Indians, in 1811, in Captain Scott's company, raised at Vincennes. He took part in the battle of Tippecanoe. His mother, *Me-chin-quam-e-sha*, the Beautiful Shade Tree, was the sister of Jocco, or *Tack-ke-ke-kah*. "The Tall Oak," who was chief of the Wea band living at the village named, and whose people claimed the country east of the Wabash, from the mouth of Sugar Creek to a point some distance below Terre Haute. "*Me-chin-quam-e-sha*" died in 1822, and was buried at Fort Harrison. Christmas Dagney received a good education under the instruction of the Catholics. He spoke French and English with great fluency, and was master of the dialects of the several Wabash tribes. For many years he was government interpreter at Fort Harrison, and subsequently Indian agent, having the superintendency of the Wabash Miamis, whom he conducted westward. On the 16th of February, 1819, he was married to "Mary Ann Isaacs," of the Brothertown Indians, who had been spending a few weeks at the mission house of Isaac McCoy, situated on Raccoon Creek,—or *Pishewa*, as it was called by the Indians,—a few miles above Armsburg. The marriage was performed by Mr. McCoy "in the presence of our Indian neighbors, who were invited to attend the ceremony. And we had the happiness to have twenty-
- ✓ three of the natives partake of a meal prepared on the occasion." *I*vide page 64 in his book, before quoted. This was, doubtless, the first marriage that was celebrated after the formality of our laws within the present limits of Parke country. By the terms of the treaty at St. Mary's, concluded on the 2d of October, 1818, one section of land was reserved for the exclusive use of Mr. Dagney, and he went to Washington and selected a section that included the village of Armsburg, which at that time was the county seat, and consisted of a row of log houses formed out of sugar-tree logs and built continuously together, from which circumstance it derived the name of "Stringtown." As a speculation the venture was not successful, for the seat of justice was removed to Rockville, and town lots at Stringtown ceased to have even a prospective value. Mr. Dagney's family occupied the reservation as a farm until about 1846. Mr. Dagney died in 1848, at Coldwater Grove, Kansas. Her second husband was Babbise
- ✓ Peoria. Mrs. Babbise Peoria had superior opportunities to acquire an extensive knowledge of the Wabash tribes between Vincennes and Fort Wayne, as she lived on the Wabash from 1817 until 1846. She is now living at Paola, Kansas, where the author met her in November, 1878.

Mississippi from whence their warlike progenitors had come nearly two centuries before.

From Westport the Mississinewas were conducted to a place near the present village of Lowisburg, Kansas, in the county named (Miami) after the tribe. Here they suffered greatly. Nearly one third of their number died the first year. They were homesick and disconsolate to the last degree. "Strong men would actually weep, as their thoughts recurred to their dear old homes in Indiana, whither many of them would make journeys, barefooted, begging their way, and submitting to the imprecations hurled from the door of the white man upon them as they asked for a crust of bread. They wanted to die to forget their miseries." "I have seen," says Mrs. Mary Baptiste to the author, "mothers and fathers give their little children away to others of the tribe for adoption, and after singing their funeral songs, and joining in the solemn dance of death, go calmly away from the assemblage, to be seen no more alive. The Miamis could not be reconciled to the prairie winds of Kansas; they longed for the woods and groves that gave a partial shade to the flashing waters of the *Wah-pe-sha*."*

The Wea and Piankeshaw bands preceded the Mississinewas to the westward. They had become reduced to a wretched community of about two hundred and fifty souls, and they suffered severely during the civil war, in Kansas. The Miamis, Weas, Piankeshaws, and the remaining fragments of the Kaskaskias, containing under that name what yet remained of the several subdivisions of the old Illini confederacy, were gathered together by Baptiste Peoria, and consolidated under the title of The Confederated Tribes.† This

*The peculiar sound with which Mrs. Baptiste gave the Miami pronunciation of Wabash is difficult to express in mere letters. The principal accent is on the first syllable, the minor accent on the last, while the second syllable is but slightly sounded. The word means "white" in both the Miami and Peoria dialects. In treating upon the derivation of the word Wabash (p. 100), the manuscript containing the statements of Mrs. Baptiste was overlooked.

†This remarkable man was the son of a daughter of a sub-chief of the Peoria tribe. He was born, according to the best information, in 1793, near the confluence of the Kankakee and Maple, as the Des Plaines River was called by the Illinois Indians and the French respectively. His reputed father was a French Canadian trader living with this tribe, and whose name was Baptiste. Young Peoria was called Batticy by his mother. Later in life he was known as Baptiste *the* Peoria, and finally as Baptiste Peoria. The people of his tribe gave the name a liquid sound, and pronounced it as if it were spelled Paola. The county seat of Miami county, Kansas, is named after him. He was a man of large frame, active, and possessed of great strength and courage. Like Keokuk, the great chief of the Sacs and Fox Indians, Paola was fond of athletic sports, and was an expert horseman. He had a ready command both of the French Canadian and the English languages. He was familiar with the dialects of the Pottawatomies, Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis and Kickapoos. These qualifications as a linguist soon brought him into prominence among the Indians, while his known integrity commended his services to the United States government. From the year 1821 to the year 1838 he assisted in the removal of the above-named tribes from Indi-

little confederation disposed of their reservation in Miami county, Kansas, and adjacent vicinity, and retired to a tract of reduced dimensions within the Indian Territory. Since their last change of location in 1867 they have made but little progress in their efforts toward a higher civilization. The numbers of what remains of the once numerous Illinois and Miami confederacies are reduced to less than two hundred persons. The Miamis, like the unfortunate man who has carried his dissipations beyond the limit from which there can be no healthy reaction, seem not to have recovered from the vices contracted before leaving the states, and with some notable exceptions, they are a listless, idle people, little worthy of the spirit that inspired the breasts of their ancestors.

ana and Illinois to their reservations beyond the Mississippi. His duties as Indian agent brought him in contact with many of the early settlers on the Illinois and the Wabash, from Vincennes to Fort Wayne. In 1818, when about twenty-five years of age, Batticy represented his tribe at the treaty at Edwardsville. By this treaty, which is signed by representatives from all the five tribes comprising the Illinois or Illini nation of Indians, viz, the Peorias, Kaskaskias, Mitchigamias, Cahokias and Tamaoris, it appears that for a period of years anterior to that time the Peorias had lived, and were then living, separate and apart from the other tribes named. Treaties with the Indian Tribes, etc., p. 247, government edition, 1837. By this treaty the several tribes named ceded to the United States the residue of their lands in Illinois. For nearly thirty years was Baptiste Peoria in the service of the United States. In 1867 Peoria became the chief of the consolidated tribes of the Miamis and Illinois, and went with them to their new reservation in the northeast corner of the Indian Territory, where he died on the 13th of September, 1873, aged eighty years. Some years before his death he married Mary Baptiste, the widow of Christmas Dagny, who, as before stated, still survives. I am indebted to this lady for copies of the "Western Spirit," a newspaper published at Paola, and the "Fort Scott Monitor," containing obituary notices and biographical sketches of her late husband, from which this notice of Baptiste Peoria has been summarized. Baptiste may be said to be "the last of the Peorias." He made a manly and persistent effort to save the fragment of the Illinois and Miamis, and by precepts and example tried to encourage them to adopt the ways of civilized life.

CHAPTER XV.

THE POTTAWATOMIES.

WHEN the Jesuits were extending their missions westward of Quebec they found a tribe of Indians, called Ottawas, living upon a river of Canada, to which the name of Ottawa was given. After the dispersion of the Hurons by the Iroquois, in 1649, the Ottawas, to the number of one thousand, joined five hundred of the discomfited Hurons, and with them retired to the southwestern shore of Lake Superior.* The fugitives were followed by the missionaries, who established among them the Mission of the Holy Ghost, at La Pointe, already mentioned. Shortly after the establishment of the mission the Jesuits made an enumeration of the western Algonquin tribes, in which all are mentioned except the Ojibbeways and Piankeshaws. The nation which dwelt south of the mission, classified as speaking the pure Algonquin, is uniformly called Ottawas, and the Ojibbeways, by whom they were surrounded, were never once noticed by that name. Hence it is certain that at that early day the Jesuits considered the Ottawas and Ojibbeways as one people.†

In close consanguinity with the Ottawas and Ojibbeways were the Pottawatomies, between whom there was only a slight dialectical difference in language, while the manners and customs prevailing in the three tribes were almost identical.‡ This view was again reasserted by Mr. Gallatin: "Although it must be admitted that the Algonquins, the Ojibbeways, the Ottawas and the Pottawatomies speak different dialects, these are so nearly allied that they may be considered rather as dialects of the same, than as distinct languages."§

This conclusion of Mr. Gallatin was arrived at after a scientific and analytical comparison of the languages of the tribes mentioned.

In confirmation of the above statement we have the speeches of three Indian chiefs at Chicago in the month of August, 1821. During the progress of the treaty, Keewaygooshkum, a chief of the first authority among the Ottawas, stated that "the Chippewas, the Pot-

* Jesuit Relations for 1666.

† Albert Gallatin's Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, p. 27.

‡ Jesuit Relations.

§ Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, p. 29.

tawatomies and the Ottawas *were originally one nation*. We separated from each other near Michilimackinac. We were related by the ties of blood, language and interest, but in the course of a long time these things have been forgotten," etc.

At the conclusion of this speech, Mich-el, an aged chief of the Chippewas, said: "My Brethren,—I am about to speak a few words. I know you expect it. Be silent, therefore, that the words of an old man may be heard.

"My Brethren,—You have heard the man who has just spoken. We are all descended from the same stock,—the Pottawatomies, the Chippewas and the Ottawas. We consider ourselves as one. Why should we not always act in concert?"

Metea, the most powerful of the Pottawatomie chieftains, in his speech made this statement:

"Brothers, Chippewas and Ottawas,—we consider ourselves as one people, which you know, as also our father* here, who has traveled over our country."

Mr. Schoolcraft, in commenting on the above statements, remarks: "This testimony of a common origin derives additional weight from the general resemblance of these tribes in person, manners, customs and dress, but above all by their having one council-fire and speaking one language. Still there are obvious characteristics which will induce an observer, after a general acquaintance, to pronounce the Pottawatomies tall, fierce, haughty; the Ottawas short, thick-set, good-natured, industrious; the Chippewas warlike, daring, etc. But the general lineaments, or, to borrow a phrase from natural history, the suite features, are identical.†

The first mention that we have of the Pottawatomies is in the Jesuit Relations for the years 1639–40. They are then mentioned as dwelling beyond the River St. Lawrence, and to the north of the great lake of the Hurons. At this period it is very likely that the Pottawatomies had their homes both north of Lake Huron and south of it, in the northern part of the present State of Michigan. Twenty-six or seven years after this date the country of the Pottawatomies is described as being "about the Lake of the Ilmouek."‡ They were mentioned as being "a warlike people, hunters and fishers. Their country is very good for Indian corn, of which they plant fields, and to which they willingly retire to avoid the famine that is too common in these quarters. They are in the highest degree idolaters, attached to ridiculous fables and devoted to polygamy.

* Lewis Cass.

† Schoolcraft's Central Mississippi Valley, pp. 357, 360, 368.

‡ Lake Michigan.

We have seen them here* to the number of three hundred men, all capable of bearing arms. Of all the people that I have associated with in these countries, they are the most docile and the most affectionate toward the French. Their wives and daughters are more reserved than those of other nations. They have a species of civility among them, and make it apparent to strangers, which is very rare among our barbarians."†

In 1670 the Pottawatomes had collected at the islands at the mouth of Green Bay which have taken their name from this tribe. Father Claude Dablon, in a letter concerning the mission of St. Francis Xavier, which was located on Green Bay, in speaking of this tribe, remarks that "the Pouteouatami, the Ousaki, and those of the Forks, also dwell here, but *as strangers*, the fear of the Iroquois having driven them from their lands, which are between the Lake of the Hurons and that of the Illinois."‡

In 1721, says Charlevoix, "the Pontewatamies possessed only one of the small islands at the mouth of Green Bay, but had two other villages, one on the St. Joseph and the other at the Narrows."§

Driven out of the peninsula between lakes Huron and Michigan, the Pottawatomes took up their abode on the Bay de Noquet, and other islands near the entrance of Green Bay. From these islands they advanced southward along the west shore of Lake Michigan. Extracts taken from Hennepin's Narrative of La Salle's Voyage mention the fact that the year previous to La Salle's coming westward (1678), he had sent out a party of traders in advance, who had bartered successfully with the Pottawatomes upon the islands named, and who were anxiously waiting for La Salle at the time of his arrival in the Griffin. Hennepin further states that La Salle's party bartered with the Pottawatomes at the villages they passed on the voyage southward.

From this time forward the Pottawatomes steadily moved southward. When La Salle reached the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan there were no Pottawatomes in that vicinity. Shortly after this date, however, they had a village on the south bank of this stream, near the present city of Niles, Michigan. On the northern bank was a village of Miamis. The Mission of St. Joseph was here established and in successful operation prior to 1711, from which fact, with other incidental circumstances, it has been inferred that

* La Pointe.

† Jesuit Relations, 1666-7.

‡ Jesuit Relations, 1670-71.

§ Detroit.

the Pottawatomies, as well as the mission, were on the St. Joseph as early as the year 1700.*

Father Charlevoix fixes the location of both the mission *and* the military post as being at the *same* place beyond a doubt. "It was eight days yesterday since I arrived at this post, where we have a mission, and where there is a commandant with a small garrison. The commandant's house, which is a very sorry one, is called the fort, from its being surrounded by an indifferent palisado, which is pretty near the case in all the rest, except Forts Chambly and Catarocony, which are real fortresses. We have here two villages of Indians, one of Miamis and the other of Pottawatomies, both of them mostly Christians; but as they have been for a long time without any pastors, the missionary who has lately been sent them will have no small difficulty in bringing them back to the exercise of their religion."†

The authorities for locating the old mission and fort of St. Joseph near Niles are Charlevoix, Prof. Keating and the Rev. Isaac McCoy. Commenting on the remains of the old villages upon the St. Joseph River at the time Long's expedition passed that way, in 1823, the compiler states that "the prairies, woodland and river were rendered more picturesque by the ruins of Strawberry, Rum and St. Joseph's villages, formerly the residence of the Indians or of the first French settlers. It was curious to trace the difference in the remains of the habitations of the red and white man in the midst of this distant solitude. While the untenanted cabin of the

* Some confusion has arisen from a confounding of the Mission of St. Joseph and Fort St. Joseph with the Fort Miamis. The two were distinct, some miles apart, and erected at different dates. It is plain, from the accounts given by Hennepin, Membre and La Hontan, that Fort Miamis was located on Lake Michigan, at the *mouth* of the St. Joseph. It is equally clear that the Mission of St. Joseph and Fort St. Joseph were *some miles up* the St. Joseph River, and a few miles *below* the "portage of the Kankakee" at South Bend. Father Charlevoix, in his letter of the 16th of August, 1721,—after having in a previous letter referred to his reaching the St. Joseph and going up it toward the fort,—says: "We afterward sailed up twenty leagues before we reached the fort." Vol. 2, p. 94. Again, in a subsequent letter (p. 184): "I departed yesterday from the Fort of the River St. Joseph and sailed up that river about six leagues. I went ashore on the right and walked a league and a quarter, first along the water side and afterward across a field in an immense meadow, entirely covered with copses of wood." And in the next paragraph, on the same page, follows his description of the sources of the Kankakee, quoted in this work on page 77. Here, then, we have the position of Fort St. Joseph and the mission of that name and the two villages of the Pottawatomies and the Miamis, on the St. Joseph River, six leagues *below* South Bend. In Dr. Shea's Catholic Missions, page 423, it is stated that "La Salle, on his way to the Mississippi, had built a temporary fort on the St. Joseph, not far from the portage leading to the The-a-ki-ke"; and Mr. Charles R. Brown, in his Missions, Forts and Trading Posts of the Northwest, p. 14, says that "Fort Miamis, built at the mouth of the St. Joseph's River by La Salle, was afterward called St. Joseph, to distinguish it from (Fort) Miamis, on the Maumee." In this instance neither of these writers follow the text of established authorities.

† Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, pp. 93, 94.

Indian presented in its neighborhood but the remains of an old cornfield overgrown with weeds, the rude hut of the Frenchman was surrounded with vines, and with the remains of his former gardening exertions. The asparagus, the pea vine and the woodbine still grow about it, as though in defiance of the revolutions which have dispersed those who planted them here. The very names of the villages mark the difference between their former tenants. Those of the Indians were designated by the name of the fruit which grew abundantly on the spot or of the object which they coveted most, while the French missionary has placed his village under the patronage of the tutelar saint in whom he reposed his utmost confidence.”*

The asparagus, the pea-vine and the woodbine preserved the identity of the spot against the encroachments of the returning forests until 1822, when Isaac McCoy established among the Pottawatomies the Baptist mission called *Carey*, out of respect for the Rev. Mr. Carey, a missionary of the same church in Hindostan. “It is said that the Pottawatomies themselves selected this spot for Carey’s mission, it being the site of their old village. This must have been very populous, as the remains of corn-hills are very visible at this time, and are said to extend over a thousand acres. The village was finally abandoned about fifty years ago (1773), but there are a few of the oldest of the nation who still recollect the sites of their respective huts. They are said to frequently visit the establishment and to trace with deep feeling a spot which is endeared to them.”†

On a cold winter night in 1833 a traveler was ferried over the St. Joseph at the then straggling village of Niles. “Ascending the bank, a beautiful plain with a clump of trees here and there upon its surface opened to his view. The establishment of Carey’s mission, a long, low, white building, could be distinguished afar off faintly in the moonlight, while several winter lodges of the Pottawatomies were plainly visible over the plain.”‡

Concerning the Pottawatomic village near Detroit, and also some of the customs peculiar to the tribe, we have the following account. It was written in 1718: §

“The fort of Detroit is south of the river. The village of the Pottawatomies adjoins the fort; they lodge partly under Apaquois,||

* Long’s Second Expedition, vol. 1, pp. 147, 148.

† Long’s Second Expedition, vol. 1, p. 153, McCoy’s History of Baptist Indian Missions.

‡ Hoffman’s Winter in the West, vol. 1, p. 225.

§ Memoir on the Indians between Lake Erie and the Mississippi. Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 887.

|| Apaquois, matting made of flags or rushes; from *apee*, a leaf, and *wigquoiam*, a hut. They cover their huts with mats made of rushes platted. Carver’s Travels.

which are made of mat-grass. The women do all the work. The men belonging to that nation are well clothed, like our domiciliated Indians at Montreal. Their entire occupation is hunting and dress; they make use of a great deal of vermilion, and in winter wear buffalo robes richly painted, and in summer either blue or red cloth. They play a good deal at La Crosse in summer, twenty or more on each side. Their bat is a sort of a little racket, and the ball with which they play is made of very heavy wood, somewhat larger than the balls used at tennis. When playing they are entirely naked, except a breech cloth and moccasins on their feet. Their body is completely painted with all sorts of colors. Some, with white clay, trace white lace on their bodies, as if on all the seams of a coat, and at a distance it would be apt to be taken for silver lace. They play very deep and often. The bets sometimes amount to more than eight hundred livres. They set up two poles, and commence the game from the center; one party propels the ball from one side and the others from the opposite, and whichever reaches the goal wins. This is fine recreation and worth seeing. They often play village against village, the Poux* against the Ottawas or Hurons, and lay heavy stakes. Sometimes Frenchmen join in the game with them. The women cultivate Indian corn, beans, peas, squashes and melons, which come up very fine. The women and girls dance at night; adorn themselves considerably, grease their hair, put on a white shift, paint their cheeks with vermilion, and wear whatever wampum they possess, and are very tidy in their way. They dance to the sound of the drum and sisiquoi, which is a sort of gourd containing some grains of shot. Four or five young men sing and beat time with the drum and sisiquoi, and the women keep time and do not lose a step. It is very entertaining, and lasts almost the entire night. The old men often dance the Medicine.† They resemble a set of demons; and all this takes place during the night. The young men often dance in a circle and strike posts. It is then they recount their achievements and dance, at the same time, the war dance: and whenever they act thus they are highly ornamented. It is altogether very curious. They often perform these things for tobacco. When they go hunting, which is every fall, they carry their apaquois with them, to hut under at night. Everybody follows,

* The Pottawatomies were sometimes known by the contraction Poux. La Hontan uses this name, and erroneously confounds them with the Paans or Winnebagoes. In giving the coat-of-arms of the Pottawatomies, representing a dog crouched in the grass, he says: "They were called Puants." Vol. 2, p. 84.

† Medicine dance.

men, women and children. They winter in the forest and return in the spring."

The Pottawatomies swarmed from their prolific hives about the islands of Mackinaw, and spread themselves over portions of Wisconsin, and eastward to their ancient homes in Michigan. At a later day they extended themselves upon the territory of the ancient Illinois, covering a large portion of the state. From the St. Joseph River and Detroit their bands moved southward over that part of Indiana north and west of the Wabash, and thence down that stream. They were a populous horde of hardy children of the forests, of great stamina, and their constitutions were hardened by the rigorous climate of the northern lakes.

Among the old French writers the orthography of the word Pottawatomies varied to suit the taste of the writer. We give some of the forms: Pontouatimi,* Ponteotatamis,† Pontouatamies,‡ Poutewatamis,§ Pautawattamies, Puttewatamies, Pottowottamies and Pottawattamies.¶ The tribe was divided into four clans, the Golden Carp, the Frog, the Crab, and the Tortoise.¶ The nation was not like the Illinois and Miamis, divided into separate tribes, but the different bands would separate or unite according to the scarcity or abundance of game.

The word Pottawatomie signifies, in their own language, *we are making a fire*, for the origin of which they have the following tradition: "It is said that a Miami, having wandered out from his cabin, met three Indians whose language was unintelligible to him; by signs and motions he invited them to follow him to his cabin, where they were hospitably entertained, and where they remained until after dark. During the night two of the strange Indians stole from the hut, while their comrade and host were asleep; they took a few embers from the cabin, and, placing these near the door of the hut, they made a fire, which, being afterward seen by the Miami and remaining guest, was understood to imply a council fire in token of peace between the two nations. From this circumstance the Miami called them in his language *Wa-ho-na-ha*, or the fire-makers, which, being translated into the language of the three guests, produced the term by which their nation has ever since been distinguished."

After this the Miamis termed the Pottawatomies their younger brothers; but afterward, in a council, this was changed, from the

* Jesuit Relations.

† Father Membre.

‡ Joutel's Journal.

§ Charlevoix.

¶ Paris Documents.

¶ Enumeration of the Indian tribes, the Warriors and Armorial Bearings of each Nation, made in 1736. Published in Documentary History of New York.

circumstance that they resided farther to the west; "as those nations which reside to the west of others are deemed more ancient."*

The Pottawatomies were unswerving in their adherence to the French, when the latter had possession of the boundless Northwest. In 1712, when a large force of Mascoutins and Foxes besieged Detroit, they were conspicuous for their fidelity. They rallied the other tribes to the assistance of the French, and notified the besieged garrison to hold out against their enemies until their arrival. *Makisabie*, the war chief of the Pottawatomies, sent word through Mr. de Vincennes, "just arrived from the Miami country, that he would soon be at Detroit with six hundred of his warriors to aid the French and eat those miserable nations who had troubled all the country." The commandant, M. du Buisson, was gratified when he ascended a bastion, and looking toward the forest saw the army of the nations issuing from it; the Pottawatomies, the Illinois, the Missouris, the Ottawas, the Sacs and the Menominees were there, armed and painted in all the glory of war. Detroit never saw such a collection. "My Father," says the chief to the commandant, "I speak to you on the part of all the nations, your children who are before you. What you did last year in drawing their flesh from the fire, which the Outagamies (Foxes) were about to roast and eat, demands we should bring you our bodies to make you the master of them. We do not fear death, whenever it is necessary to die for you. We have only to request that you pray the father of all nations to have pity on our women and our children, in case we lose our lives for you. We beg you throw a blade of grass upon our bones to protect them from the flies. You see, my father, that we have left our villages, our women and children to hasten to join you. Have pity on us; give us something to eat and a little tobacco to smoke. We have come a long ways and are destitute of everything. Give us powder and balls to fight with you."

Makisabie, the Pottawatomie, said to the Foxes and Mascoutines: "Wicked nations that you are, you hope to frighten us by all the red color which you exhibit in your village. Learn that if the earth is covered with blood, it will be with yours. You talk to us of the English, they are the cause of your destruction, because you have listened to their bad council. . . . The English, who are cowards, only defend themselves by killing men by that wicked strong drink, which has caused so many men to die after drinking it. Thus we shall see what will happen to you for listening to them."†

* Long's Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peter's River, vol. 1, pp. 91, 92, 93.

† The extracts we have quoted are taken from the official report of Du Buisson,

The Pottawatomies sustained their alliance with the French continuously to the time of the overthrow of their power in the northwest. They then aided their kinsman, Pontiac, in his attempt to recover the same territory from the British. They fought on the side of the British against the Americans throughout the war of the revolution, and their war parties made destructive and frequent raids upon the line of pioneer settlements in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana. In the war of 1812 they were again ranged on the side of the British, with their bloody hands lifted alike against the men, women and children of "the States."

In the programme of Pontiac's war the capture of Post St. Joseph, on the St. Joseph's river of Lake Michigan, was assigned to the Pottawatomies, which was effected as will be hereafter narrated.

It was also the Pottawatomies who perpetrated the massacre at Chicago on the 15th day of August, 1812. Bands of this tribe, from their villages on the St. Joseph, the Kankakee and the Illinois rivers, whose numbers were augmented by the appearance of Metea with his warriors, from their village westward of Fort Wayne, fell upon the forces of Captain Heald, and the defenseless women and children retreating with him after the surrender of Fort Dearborn, and murdered or made prisoners of them all. Metea was a conspicuous leader in this horrible affair.*

Robert Dixon, the British trader sent out among the Indians during the war of 1812 to raise recruits for Proctor and Tecumseh, gathered in the neighborhood of Chicago, which after the massacre was his place of general rendezvous, nearly one thousand warriors of as wild and cruel savages as ever disgraced the human race. They were the most worthless and abandoned desperadoes whom Dixon had been enabled to collect from among all the tribes he had visited. These accomplices of the British were to be let loose upon the remote settlements under the leadership of the Pottawatomie chief, *Mai-pock*, or *Mai-po*, a monster in human form, who distinguished himself with a girdle sewed full of human scalps, which he wore around his waist, and strings of bear's claws and bills of owls and hawks around his ankles, worn as trophies of his power in arms and as a terror to his enemies.†

relating to the siege of Detroit. The manuscript copy of it was obtained from the archives at Paris, by Gen. Cass, when minister to France, and is published at length in volume III of the History of Wisconsin, compiled by the direction of the legislature of that state by William R. Smith, President of the State Historical Society; a work of very great value, not only to the State of Wisconsin but to the entire Northwest, for the amount of reliable historical information it contains.

* Hall and McKenney's History of the Indian Tribes of North America, vol. 2, pp. 59, 60.

† McAfee's History of the Late War, pp. 297, 298.

Their manners, like their dialect, were rough and barbarous as compared with other Algonquin tribes. They were not the civil, modest people, an exceptional and christianized band of whom the Jesuits before quoted drew a flattering description.

“It is a fact that for many years the current of emigration as to the tribes east of the Mississippi has been from the north to the south. This was owing to two causes: the diminution of those animals from which the Indians derive their support, and the pressure of the two great tribes,—the Ojibbeways and the Sioux,—to the north and west. So long ago as 1795, at the treaty of Greenville, the Pottawatomies notified the Miamis that they intended to settle upon the Wabash. They made no pretensions to the country, and the only excuse for the intended aggression was that *they were tired of eating fish and wanted meat.*”^{*} And come they did. They bore down upon their less populous neighbors, the Miamis, and occupied a large portion of their territory, impudently and by sheer force of numbers, rather than by force of arms. They established numerous villages upon the north and west bank of the Wabash and its tributaries flowing in from that side of the stream above the Vermilion. They, with the Sacs, Foxes and Kickapoos, drove the Illinois into the villages about Kaskaskia, and portioned the conquered territory among themselves. By other tribes they were called squatters, who justly claimed that the Pottawatomies never had any land of their own, and were mere intruders upon the prior rights of others. They were foremost at all treaties where lands were to be ceded, and were clamorous for a lion's share of presents and annuities, particularly where these last were the price given for the sale of others' lands rather than their own.[†] Between the years 1789 and 1837 the Pottawatomies, by themselves, or in connection with other tribes, made no less than thirty-eight treaties with the United States, all of which,—excepting two or three which were treaties of peace only,—were for cessions of lands claimed wholly by the Pottawatomies, or in common with other tribes. These cessions embraced territory extending from the Mississippi eastward to Cleveland, Ohio, and reaching over the entire valleys of the Illinois, the Wabash, the Maumee and their tributaries.[‡]

They also had villages upon the Kankakee and Illinois rivers. Among them we name *Minemaung*, or Yellow Head, situated a

^{*} Official letter to the Secretary of War, dated March 22, 1814.

[†] Schoolcraft's Central Mississippi Valley, p. 358.

[‡] Treaties between the United States and the several Indian tribes, from 1778 to 1837: Washington, D.C., 1837.

few miles north of Momence, at a point of timber still known as Yellow Head Point; *She-mar-gar*, or the Soldier's Village, at the mouth of Soldier Creek, that runs through Kankakee City, and the village of "Little Rock" or *Shaw-waw-nas-see*, at the mouth of Rock Creek, a few miles below Kankakee City.* Besides these, the Pottawatomies had villages farther down the Illinois, particularly the great town of *Como*, *Gumo*, or *Gumbo* as the pioneers called it, at the upper end of Peoria Lake. They had other towns on the Milwaukee River, Wisconsin. On the St. Joseph, near Niles, was the village of *To-pen-ne-bee*, the great hereditary chief of the Pottawatomie nation; higher up, near the present village of White Pigeon, was situated *Wap-pe-me-me's*, or White Pigeon's town. Westward of Fort Wayne, Indiana, nine miles, was *Mus-kwa-wa-sepe-otan*, "the town of old Red Wood creek," where resided the band of the distinguished warrior and orator of the Pottawatomies, Metea, whose name in their language signifies *kiss me*.

Finally, the renowned *Kesis*, or the sun, the old friend of General Hamtranck and the Americans, in a speech to General Wayne at the treaty of Greenville in 1795, said that *his village* "was a day's walk below the Wea towns on the Wabash," referring, doubtless, to the mixed Pottawatomie and Kickapoo town which stood on the site of the old Shelby farm, on the north bank of the Vermilion, a short distance above its mouth.†

The positions of several of the principal Pottawatomie villages have been given for the purpose of showing the area of country over which this people extended themselves. As late as 1823 their hunting grounds appeared to have been "bounded on the north by the St. Joseph (which on the east side of Lake Michigan separated them from the Ottawas) and the Milwaukee,‡ which, on the west side of the lake, divided them from the Menomonees. They spread to the south along the Illinois River about two hundred miles; to the west

* The location of these three villages of Pottawatomies is fixed by the surveys of reservations to Mine-maung, Shemargar and Shaw-waw-nas-see respectively, secured to them by the second article of a treaty concluded at Camp Tippecanoe, near Logansport, Indiana, on the 20th of October, 1832, between the United States and the chiefs and head men of the Pottawatomie tribe of Indians of the prairie and of the Kankakee. The reservations were surveyed in the presence of the Indians concerned and General Tipton, agent on the part of the United States, in the month of May, 1834, by Major Dan W. Beckwith, surveyor. The reservations were so surveyed as to include the several villages we have named, as appears from the manuscript volumes of the surveys in possession of the author.

† Journal of the Proceedings at the Treaty of Greenville: American State Papers on Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 580. The author has authorities and manuscripts from which the location of Kesis' band at the mouth of the Vermilion may be quite confidently affirmed.

‡ Milwaukee.

their grounds extended as far as Rock River, and the Mequin or Spoon River of the Illinois; to the east they probably seldom passed beyond the Wabash.”* After the Kickapoos and Pottawatomies had established themselves in the valley of the Wabash, it was mutually agreed between them and the Miamis that the river should be the dividing line,—the Pottawatomies and Kickapoos to occupy the west, and the Miamis to remain undisturbed on the east or south side of the stream. It was a hard bargain for the Miamis, who were unable to maintain their rights.†

The Pottawatomies were among the last to leave their possessions in Illinois and Indiana, and it was the people of this tribe with whom the first settlers came principally in contact. Their hostility ceased at the close of the war of 1812. After this their intercourse with the whites was uniformly friendly, and they bore the many impositions and petty grievances which were put upon them by not a few of their unprincipled and unfeeling white neighbors with a forbearance that should have excited public sympathy.

The Pottawatomies owned extensive tracts of land on the Wabash, between the mouth of Pine Creek, in Warren county, and the Fort Wayne portage, which had been reserved to them by the terms of their several treaties with the United States. They held like claims upon the Tippecanoe and other westward tributaries of the Wabash, and elsewhere in northwestern Indiana, eastern Illinois and southern Michigan. These reservations are now covered by some of the finest farms in the states named. The treaties by which such reservations were granted generally contained a clause that debarred the owner from alienating them without having first secured the sanction of the President of the United States. This restriction was designed to prevent unprincipled persons from overreaching the Indian, who, at best, had only a vague idea of the fee simple title to, and value of, real estate. It afforded little security, however, against the wiles of the unscrupulous, and whenever the Indian could be induced by the arts of his “White Brother” to put his name to an instrument, the purport of which, in many instances, he did not at all understand as forever conveying away his possessions, the ratifying signature of the President followed as a matter of department routine. The greater part of the Pottawatomic reservations was retroceded to the United States in exchange either for annuities or for lands west of the Mississippi, and the title disposed of in this way.

* Long's Second Expedition, vol. 1, p. 171.

† The writer was informed of this agreement by Mary Baptiste.

The final emigration of the Pottawatomies from the Wabash, under charge of Col. Pepper and Gen. Tipton, of Indiana, took place in the summer of 1838. Many are yet living who witnessed the sad exodus. The late Sanford Cox has recorded his impressions of this event in the valuable little book which he published.* "Hearing that this large emigration, numbering nearly a thousand of all ages and sexes, would pass within eight or nine miles west of La Fayette, a few of us procured horses and rode over to see the retiring band, as they reluctantly wended their way toward the setting sun. It was, indeed, a mournful spectacle to see these children of the forest slowly retiring from the homes of their childhood, where were not only the graves of their loved ancestors but many endearing scenes to which their memories would ever recur as sunny spots along their pathway through the wilderness. They felt that they were bidding a last farewell to the hills, the valleys and the streams of their infancy: the more exciting hunting grounds of their advanced youth; the stern and bloody battle-fields on which, in riper manhood, they had received wounds, and where many of their friends and loved relatives had fallen, covered with gore and with glory. All these they were leaving behind, to be desecrated by the plowshare of the white man. As they cast mournful glances back toward these loving scenes that were rapidly fading in the distance, tears fell from the cheek of the downcast warrior,—old men trembled, matrons wept, the swarthy maiden's cheek turned pale, and sighs and half-suppressed sobs escaped from the motley groups, as they passed along, some on foot, some on horseback, and others in wagons, sad as a funeral procession. I saw several of the aged warriors glancing upward to the sky as if invoking aid from the spirits of their departed sires, who were looking down upon them with pity from the clouds, or as if they were calling upon the great spirit to redress the wrongs of the red man, whose broken bow had fallen from his hand. Ever and anon one of the throng would strike off from the procession into the woods and retrace his steps back to the old encampments on the Wabash, Ell River, or the Tippecanoe, declaring that he would die there rather than be banished from his country. Thus would scores leave the main party at different points on the journey and return to their former homes; and it was several years before they could be induced to join their countrymen west of the Mississippi."

This body, on their westward journey, passed through Danville, Illinois, where they halted several days, being in want of food. The

* Recollections of the Early Settlement of the Wabash Valley, La Fayette, Ind., 1860, pp. 154, 155.

commissary department was wretchedly supplied. The Indians begged for food at the houses of the citizens. Others, in their extremity, killed rats at the old mill on the North Fork and ate them to appease their hunger. Without tents or other shelter, many of them, with young babes in their arms, walked on foot, as there was no adequate means of conveyance for the weak, the aged or infirm. Thus the mournful procession passed across the state of Illinois.

The St. Joseph band were removed westward the same year. So strong was their attachment to southern Michigan and northern Indiana, that the Federal government invoked the aid of troops to coerce their removal. The soldiers surrounded them, and, as prisoners of war, compelled them to leave. At South Bend, Indiana, was the village of *Chichi-pe Outipe*. The town was on a rising ground near four small lakes, and contained ten or twelve hundred christianized Pottawatomies. Benjamin M. Petit, the Catholic missionary in charge at *Po-ke-gans* village on the St. Joseph, asked Bishop Bruté for leave to accompany the Indians, but the prelate withheld his consent, not deeming it proper to give even an implied indorsement of the cruel act of the government. But being himself on their route, he afterward consented. The power of religion then appeared. Amid their sad march he confirmed several, while hymns and prayers, chanted in *Ottawa*, echoed for the last time around their lakes. Sick and well were carried off alike. After giving all his Episcopal blessing, Bishop Bruté proceeded with Petit to the tents of the sick, where they baptized one and confirmed another, both of whom expired soon after. The march was resumed. The men, women and elder children, urged on by the soldiers in their rear, were followed with the wagons bearing the sick and dying, the mothers, little children and property. Thus they proceeded through the country, turbulent at that time on account of the Mormon war, to the Osage River, Missouri, where Mr. Petit confided the wretched exiles to the care of the Jesuit Father J. Hoecken.*

In the year 1846 the different bands of Pottawatomies united on the west side of the Mississippi. A general treaty was made, in which the following clause occurs: "Whereas, the various bands of the Pottawatomic Indians, known as the Chippeways, Ottawas and Pottawatomies, the Pottawatomies of the Prairie, the Pottawatomies of the Wabash, and the Pottawatomies of Indiana, have, subsequent to the year 1820, entered into separate and distinct treaties with the

* Extract from Shea's Catholic Missions, p. 397.

United States, by which they have been separated and located in different countries, and difficulties have arisen as to the proper distributions of the stipulations under various treaties, and being the same people by kindred, by feeling and by language, and having in former periods lived on and owned their lands in common, and being desirous to unite in one common country and again become one people and receive their annuities and other benefits in common, and to abolish all minor distinctions of bands by which they have heretofore been divided, and are anxious to be known as the POTTAWATOMIE NATION, thereby reinstating the national character; and whereas, the United States are also anxious to restore and concentrate said tribes to a state so desirable and necessary for the happiness of their people, as well as to enable the government to arrange and manage its intercourse with them; now, therefore, the United States and said Indians do hereby agree that said people shall hereafter be known as a nation, to be called the POTTAWATOMIE NATION."

Pursuant to the terms of this treaty, the Pottawatomies received \$850,000, in consideration of which they released all lands owned by them within the limits of the territory of Iowa and on the Osage River in Missouri, or in any state or place whatsoever. Eighty-seven thousand dollars of the purchase money coming to them was paid, by cession from the United States, of 576,000 acres of land lying on both sides of the Kansas River. The tract embraces the finest body of land within the present state of Kansas, and Topeka, the state capital, has since been located nearly in the center of the reservation. While the territory was going through the process of organization, adventurers trespassed upon the lands of the Pottawatomies, sold them whisky, and spread demoralization among them. The squatters who intruded upon the farmer-Indians killed their stock and burned some of their habitations, all of which was borne without retaliation. Notwithstanding the old *habendum* clause inserted in Indian treaties (as a mere matter of form, as may be inferred from the little regard paid to it) that these lands should inure to Pottawatomies, "their heirs and assigns forever," the squatter sovereigns wanted them, and resorted to all the well-known methods in vogue on the border to make it unpleasant for the Indians, who were progressing with assured success from barbarism to the ways of civilized society. The usual result of dismemberment of the reserve followed. The farmer-Indians, who so desired, had their portions of the reserve set off in severalty; the uncivilized members of the tribe had their proportion set off in common. These last, which

were exchanged for money, or lands farther southward, fell into the possession of a needy railroad corporation.

We gather from the several reports of the commissioners on Indian affairs that, in 1863, the tribe numbered 2,274, inclusive of men, women and children, which was an alarming decrease since the census of 1854. The diminution was caused, probably, aside from the casualties of death, by some having returned to their former homes east of the Missouri, while many of the young and wild men of the tribe went to the buffalo grounds to enjoy the exciting and unrestrained freedom of the chase. The farmers raised 3,720 bushels of wheat, 45,000 of corn, 1,200 of oats and 1,000 tons of hay, and had 1,200 horses, 1,000 cattle and 2,000 hogs, as appears from the official report for 1863.

The Catholic school at St. Mary's enumerated an average of ninety-five boys and seventy-five girls in 1863, and in 1866 the total number was two hundred and forty scholars. Of his pupils the superintendent says: "They not only spell, read, write and cipher, but successfully master the various branches of geography, history, book-keeping, grammar, philosophy, logic, geometry and astronomy. Besides this, they are so docile, so willing to improve, that between school-hours they employ their time, with pleasure, in learning whatever *handiwork* may be assigned to them; and they particularly *desire* to become good farmers." The girls, in addition to their studies, are "trained to whatever is deemed useful to good housekeepers and accomplished mothers."

The Pottawatomies attested their fidelity to the government by the volunteering of seventy-five of their young men in the "army of the Union."

In 1867, out of a population of 2,400, 1,400 elected to become citizens of the United States, under an enabling act passed by congress. Of those who became citizens, some did well, others soon squandered their lands and joined the wild band. There are still a few left in Michigan, while about one hundred and eighty remain in Wisconsin.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KICKAPOOS AND MASCOUTINS.

THE Kickapoos and Mascoutins, if there was more than a nominal difference between the two tribes, are here treated of together, for reasons explained farther on in the chapter. The name of the Kickapoos has been written by the French, "Kicapoux," "Kickapous," "Kikapoux," "Quickapous," "Rickapoos," "Kikabu." This tribe has long been connected with the northwest, and have acquired a notoriety for the wars in which they were engaged with other tribes, as well for their persistent hostility to the white race, which continued uninterrupted for more than one hundred and fifty years. They were first noticed by Samuel Champlain, who, in 1612, discovered the "Mascoutins residing near the place called Sakinam," meaning the country of the Sacs, comprising that part of the state of Michigan bordering on Lake Huron, in the vicinity of Saginaw Bay.*

Father Claude Allouez visited the mixed village of Miamis, Kickapoos and Mascoutins on Fox River, Wisconsin, in the winter of 1669-70. Leaving his canoe at the water's edge he walked a league over beautiful prairies and perceived the fort. The savages, having discovered him, raised the cry of alarm in their villages, and then ran out to receive the missionary with honor, and conducted him to the lodge of the chief, where they regaled him with refreshments, and further honored him by greasing his feet and legs. Every one took their places, a dish was filled with powdered tobacco; an old man arose to his feet, and, filling his two hands with tobacco from the dish, addressed the missionary thus:

"This is well, Black-robe, that thou hast come to visit us; have pity on us. Thou art a Manitou.† We give thee wherewith to

* Memoir of Louis XIV, and Colbert, Minister of France, on the French Limits in North America: Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 378, and note by E. B. O'Callaghan, the editor, on p. 293.

† Manitou, with very few changes in form of spelling or manner of pronunciation, is the word used almost universally by the Algonquin tribes to express a spirit or God having control of their destinies. Their Manitous were numerous. It was also an expression sometimes applied to the white people,—particularly the missionaries. At first they regarded the Europeans as spirits, or persons possessing superior intelligence to themselves.

smoke. The Nadoïessious and the Iroquois eat us up; have pity on us. We often are sick, our children die, we are hungry. Listen, my Manitou, I give thee wherewith to smoke, that the earth may yield us corn, that the rivers may furnish us with fish, that sickness no more shall kill us, that famine no longer shall so harshly treat us." At each wish, the old men who were present answered by a great "O-oh!" *

The good father was shocked at this ceremony, and replied that they should not address such requests to him. Protesting that he could afford them no relief other than offering prayers to Him who was the only and true God, of whom he was only the servant and messenger.†

Father Allouez says in the same letter that four leagues from this village "are the *Kikabou* and *Kitchigamick*, who speak the *same language* with the *Machkouteng*."

The Kickapoos were not inclined to receive religious impressions from the early missionaries. In fact, they appear to have acquired their first notoriety in history by seizing Father Gabriel Ribourde, whom they "carried away and broke his head," as Tonti quaintly expresses it in referring to this ruthless murder. Again, in 1728, as Father Ignatius Guignas, compelled to abandon his mission among the Sioux, on account of the victory of the Foxes over the French, was attempting to reach the Illinois, he, too, fell into the hands of the Kickapoos and Mascoutins, and for five months was held a captive and constantly exposed to death. During this time he was condemned to be burnt, and was only saved through the friendly intervention of an old man in the tribe, who adopted him as a son. While held a prisoner, the missionaries from the Illinois relieved his necessities by sending timely supplies, which Father Guignas used to gain over the Indians. Having induced them to make peace, he was taken to the Illinois missions, and suffered to remain there on parole until November, 1729, when his old captors returned and took him back to their own country;‡ after which nothing seems to have been known concerning the fate of this worthy missionary.

The Kickapoos early incurred the displeasure of the French by

* The *o-oh* of the Algonquin and the *yo-hah* of the Iroquois (Colden's History of the Five Nations) is an expression of assent given by the hearers to the remarks of the speaker who is addressing them, and is equivalent to *good* or *bravo!* The Indians indulged in this kind of encouragement to their orators with great liberality, drawing out their *o-ohs* in unison and with a prolonged cry, especially when the speaker's utterances harmonized with their own sentiments.

† Jesuit Relations, 1669-70.

‡ Shea's Catholic Missions, p. 379.

committing depredations south of Detroit. A band living at the mouth of the Maumee River in 1712, with thirty Mascoutins, were about to make war upon the French. They took prisoner one Langlois, a messenger, on his return from the Miami country, whither he was bringing many letters from the Jesuit Fathers of the Illinois villages, and also dispatches from Louisiana. The letters and dispatches were destroyed, which gave much uneasiness to M. Du Boisson, the commandant at Detroit. A canoe laden with Kickapoos, on their way to the villages near Detroit, was captured by the Hurons and Ottawas residing at these villages, and who were the allies of the French. Among the slain was the principal Kickapoo chief, whose head, with those of three others of the same tribe, were brought to De Boisson, who alleges that the Hurons and Ottawas committed this act out of resentment, because the previous winter the Kickapoos had taken some of the Hurons and Iroquois prisoners, and also because they considered the Kickapoo chief to be a "*true Outtagamie*"; that is, they regarded him as one of the Fox nation.*

From the village of Machkoutench, where first Father Claude Allouez, and afterward Father Marquette, found the Kickapoos inhabiting the same village with the Muscotins and Miamis, the Kickapoos and the Muscotins appear to have passed to the south, extending their flanks to the right in the direction of Rock† River, and their left to the southern trend of Lake Michigan. Referring to the country on Fox River about Winnebago Lake, Father Charlevoix says:‡ "All this country is extremely beautiful, and that which stretches to the southward as far as the river of the Illinois is still more so. It is, however, inhabited by two small nations only, who are the Kickapoos and the Mascoutins." Father Charlevoix,§ speaking of Fox River, says: "The largest of these," referring to the streams that empty into the Illinois, "is called *Pisticoui*, and proceeds from the fine country of the Mascoutins."||

* Extract from M. Du Boisson's official report to the Marquis De Vaudreuil, governor-general of New France, of the siege of Detroit, dated June 15, 1712. This valuable paper is published entire in vol. 3 of Wm. R. Smith's History of Wisconsin, a work that contains many important documents not otherwise accessible to the general public. Indeed, the publications of the Historical Society of Wisconsin, of which Judge Smith's two volumes are the beginning, are the repository of a fund of information of great utility, not only to the people of that state, but to the entire Northwest.

† Rock River—*Assin-Sepe*—was also called Kickapoo River, and so laid down on a map of La Salle's discoveries.

‡ Narrative Journal, vol. 1, p. 287.

§ Vol. 2, p. 199.

|| "The Fox River of the Illinois is called by the Indians *Pish-ta-ko*. It is the same mentioned by Charlevoix under the name of *Pisticoui*, and which flows as he,

Prior to 1718 the Mascoutins and Kickapoos had villages upon the banks of Rock River, Illinois. "Both these tribes together do not amount to two hundred men. They are a clever people and brave warriors. Their language and manners strongly resemble those of the Foxes. They are the same *stock*. They catch deer by chasing them, and even at this day make considerable use of bows and arrows."* On a French map, issued in 1712, a village of Mascoutins is located near the forks of the north and south branches of Chicago River.

From references given, it is apparent that this people, like the Miamis and Pottawatomies, were progressing south and eastward. This movement was probably on account of the fierce Sioux, whose encroaching wars from the northwest were pressing them in this direction. Even before this date the Foxes, with Mascoutins and Kickapoos, were meditating a migration to the Wabash as a place of security from the Sioux. This threatened exodus alarmed the French, who feared that the migrating tribes would be in a position on the Wabash to effect a junction with the Iroquois and English, which would be exceedingly detrimental to the French interests in the northwest. From an official document relative to the "occurrences in Canada, sent from Quebec to France in 1695, the Department at Paris is informed that the Sioux, who have mustered some two or three thousand warriors for the purpose, would come in large numbers to seize their village. This has caused the outagamies to quit their country and disperse themselves for a season, and afterward return and save their harvest. They are then to retire toward the river Wabash to form a settlement, so much the more permanent, as they will be removed from the incursions of the Sioux, and in a position to effect a junction easily with the Iroquois and the English without the French being able to prevent it. Should this project be realized, it is very apparent that the Mascoutins and Kickapoos will be of the party, and that the three tribes, forming a new village of fourteen or fifteen hundred men, would experience no difficulty in considerably increasing it by attracting other nations thither, which would be of most pernicious consequence."† That the Mascoutins, at least, did go soon after this date toward the lower Wabash is con-

says, through the country of the Mascoutins." Long's Second Expedition, vol. 1, p. 176. The Algonquin word Pish-tah-te-koosh, according to Edwin James' vocabulary, means an antelope. The Pottawatomies, from whom Major Long's party obtained the word Pish-ta-ko, may have used it to designate the same animal, judging from the similarity of the two words.

* Memoir prepared in 1718 on the Indians between Lake Erie and the Mississippi: Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 889.

† Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 619.

clusively shown by the fact of their presence about Juchereau's trading post, which was erected near the mouth of the Ohio in the year 1700.

It is doubtful if either the Foxes or the Kickapoos followed the Mascoutins to the Wabash country, and it is evident that the Mascoutins who survived the epidemic that broke out among them at Juchereau's post on the Ohio soon returned to the north. The French effected a conciliation with the Sioux, and for a number of years subsequent to 1705 we find the Mascoutins back again among the Foxes and Kickapoos upon their old hunting grounds in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin.

The Kickapoos entered the plot of the Mascoutins to capture the post of Detroit in 1712, and the latter had repaired to the neighborhood of Detroit, and were awaiting the arrival of the Kickapoos to execute their purposes, when they were attacked by the confederation of Indians who were friendly toward the French and had hastened to the relief of the garrison.*

The Mascoutins were called "Machkoutench,"† "Machkouteng," "Maskouteins" and "Masquitens," by French writers. The English called them "Masquattimes,"‡ "Musquitons,"§ "Mascoutins,"|| and "Musquitos," a corruption used by the American colonial traders, and "Meadows," the English synonym for the French word "prairie."¶

The derivation of the name has been a subject of discussion. Father Marquette, with some others, following the example of the Hurons, rendered it "*fire-nation*," while Fathers Allouez and Charlevoix, with recent American authors, claim that the word signifies a prairie, or "a land bare of trees," such as that which this people inhabit.** The name is doubtless derived from *mus-kor-tence*,†† or *mus-ko-tia*, a prairie, a derivative from *skoutay* or *scote*, the word for fire.‡‡ "The Mascos or Mascoutins were, by the French traders of a more recent day, called *gens des prairies*, and lived and hunted on the great prairies between the Wabash and Illinois Rivers."§§ That

* History of New France, vol. 5, p. 257.

† Fathers Claude Allouez and Marquette.

‡ George Croghan's Narrative Journal.

§ Minutes of the treaty at Greenville in 1795.

|| Samuel R. Brown's Western Gazetteer.

¶ It was some years after the conquest of the northwest from the French before the name "prairie" became naturalized, as it were, into the English language.

** Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, vol. 1, p. 287. Father Allouez, in the Jesuit Relations between the years 1670 and 1671.

†† Note of Callaghan: Paris Documents, vol. 10.

‡‡ Tanner, Gallatin, Mackenzie and Johnson's vocabularies of Algonquin words.

§§ Manuscript account of this and other tribes, by Major Forsyth, quoted by Drake, in his Life of Black Hawk.

the word Muskotia is synonymous with, and has the same meaning as, the word prairie, is further confirmed by the fact that the Indians prefixed it to the names of those animals and plants found exclusively on the prairies.*

Were the Kickapoos and Mascoutins separate tribes, or were they one and the same? These queries have elicited the attention of scholars well versed in the history of the North American Indians, among whom might be named Schoolcraft, Gallatin and Shea. Sufficient references have been given in this chapter to show that, by the French, the Kickapoos and Mascoutins *were regarded* as distinct tribes. If necessary, additional extracts to the same purport could be produced from numerous French documents down to the close of the French colonial war, in 1763, all bearing uniform testimony upon this point.

The theory has been advanced that the Mascoutins and Kickapoos were bands of one tribe, first known to the French by the former name, and subsequently to the English by the latter, under which name alone they figure in our later annals.† This supposition is at variance with English and American authorities. It was a war party of Kickapoos *and* Mascoutins, from their contiguous villages near Fort Onitanon, on the Wabash, who captured George Croghan, the English plenipotentiary, below the mouth of that river in 1765.‡ Sir William Johnson, the English colonial agent on Indian affairs, in the classified list of Indians within his department, prepared in 1763, enumerates *both* the Kickapoos and Mascoutins, locating them “in the neighborhood of the fort at Wawiaghta, and about the Wabash River.”§ Captain Inlay, “commissioner for laying out lands in the back settlements,”—as the territory west of the Alleghanies was termed at that period,—in his list of westward Indians, classifies the Kickapoos (under the name of Vermilions) and the Muscatines, locating these two tribes between the Wabash and Illinois Rivers. This was in 1792.¶ The distinction between these two tribes was maintained still later, and down to a period subsequent to the year 1816. At that time the Mascoutins were residing on the west bank of the Wabash, between Vincennes and the Tippecanoe River, while their old neighbors, the Kickapoos, were living a short distance above

* For example, *mus-ko-tia-chit-tu-mo*, prairie squirrel; *mus-ko-ti-pe-neeg*, prairie potatoes. Edwin James' Catalogue of Plants and Animals found in the country of the Ojibbeways. See further references on page 35.

† The Indian Tribes of Wisconsin: Historical Collections of that State, vol. 3, p. 130.

‡ *Vide* his Narrative Journal.

§ Colonial History of New York, vol. 7: London Documents, p. 583.

¶ Inlay's America, third edition, London, 1797, p. 290.

them in several large villages. At this date the Kickapoos could raise four hundred warriors.* From the authors cited,—and other references to the same effect would be produced but for want of space,—it is evident that the English and the Americans, equally with the French, regarded the Kickapoos and Mascoutins as separate bands or subdivisions of a tribe.

While this was so, the language, manners and customs of the two tribes were not only similar, but the two tribes were almost invariably found occupying contiguous villages, and hunting in company with each other over the same country. "The Kickapoos are neighbors of the Mascoutins, and it seems that these two tribes have always been united in interests."† There is no instance recorded where they were ever arrayed against each other, nor of a time when they took opposite sides in any alliance with other tribes. Another noticeable fact is that, with but one exception, the Mascoutins were never known as such in any treaty with the United States, while the Kickapoos were parties to many. We have seen that the former were occupying the Wabash country in common with the latter as far back, at least, as 1765, when they captured Croghan, until 1816; and in all of the treaties for the extinguishment of the title of the several Indian tribes bordering on the Wabash and its tributaries, the Mascoutins are nowhere alluded to, while the Kickapoos are prominent parties to many treaties at which extensive tracts of country were ceded. No man living, in his time, was better informed than Gen. Harrison,—who conducted these several treaties on behalf of the United States,—of the relations and distinctions, however trifling, that may have existed among the numerous Indian tribes with whom, in a long course of official capacity, he came in contact, either with the pen, around the friendly council-fire, or with the uplifted sword upon the field of hostile encounter. In all his voluminous correspondence during the years when the northwest was committed to his charge the General makes no mention of the Mascoutins

* *Western Gazetteer*, by Samuel R. Brown, p. 71. This work of Mr. Brown's is exceedingly valuable for the amount of reliable information it affords not obtainable from any other source. He was with Gen. Harrison in the campaigns of the war of 1812. In the preface to his *Gazetteer* he says: "Business and curiosity have made the writer acquainted with a large portion of the western country never before described. Where personal knowledge was wanting I have availed myself of the correspondence of many of the most intelligent gentlemen in the west." At the time Mr. Brown was compiling material for his *Gazetteer*, "the Harrison Purchase was being run out into townships and sections," and Mr. Brown came in contact with the surveyors doing the work, and derived much information from them. The book is carefully prepared, covering a topographical description of the country embraced, its towns, rivers, counties, population, Indian tribes, etc., and altogether is one of the most authentic and useful books relative to "the west," which was attracting the attention of emigrants at the time of its publication.

† Charlevoix' *History of New France*.

by *that name*, but often refers to "the Kickapoos of the prairies," to distinguish them from other bands of the same tribe who occupied villages in the timbered portions of the Wabash and its tributaries.*

At a subsequent treaty of peace and friendship, concluded on the 27th of September, 1815, between Governor Ninian Edwards, of Illinois Territory, and the chiefs, warriors, etc., of the Kickapoo nation, *Wash-e-own*, who at the treaty of Vincennes signed as a Mascoutin, was a party to it, and in this instance signed as a *Kickapoo*. No Mascoutins by that name appear in the record of the treaty.†

The preceding facts, negative and direct, admit of the following inferences: that there were two subdivisions of the same nation, known first to the French, then to the English, and more recently to the Americans, the one under the name of Kickapoos and the other as Mascoutines; that they spoke the same language and observed the same customs; that they were living near each other, and always had a community of interest in their wars, alliances and migrations; and that since the United States have held dominion over the territory of the northwest the Kickapoos and Mascoutines have considered themselves as one and the same people, whose tribal relations were so nearly identical that, in all official transactions with the federal government, they were recognized only as Kickapoos. And is it not apparent, after all, that there was only a nominal distinction between these two tribes, or, rather, families of the same tribe? Were not the Mascoutins bands of the Kickapoos who dwelt exclusively on the prairies? It seems, from authorities cited, that this question admits of but one answer.

The destruction that followed the attempt of the Mascoutins to capture Detroit was, perhaps, one of the most remorseless in which white men took a part of which we have an account in the annals of Indian warfare. As before stated, the Mascoutins in 1712 laid siege to the Fort, hearing of which the Pottawatomics, with other tribes friendly to the French, collected in a large force for their assistance.

* The only treaty which the Mascoutins, as such, were parties to was the one concluded at Vincennes on the 27th of September, 1792, between the several Wabash tribes and Gen. Rufus Putnam, on behalf of the United States. Two Mascoutins signed this treaty, viz, *Waush-e-own* and *At-schat-schaw*. Three Kickapoo chiefs also signed the parchment, viz, *Me-an-ach-kah*, *Ma-en-a-pah* and *Mash-a-ras-a*, the Black Elk, and, what is singular, this last person, although a Kickapoo, signs himself to the treaty as "The Chief of *The Meadows*." This treaty was only one of peace and friendship. The text of the treaty is found in the American State Papers, Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 388; in Judge Dillon's History of Indiana, edition of 1859, pp. 293, 294, and in the Western Annals, Pittsburg edition, pp. 605, 606. The names of the tribes and of the individual chiefs who participated in it are not given in any of the works cited. They only appear in the copy on file at the War Department and in the original manuscript journal of Gen. Putnam. The author is indebted to Dr. Israel W. Andrews, president of Marietta College, for transcripts from Gen. Putnam's journal.

† Treaties with the Indian Tribes, Washington edition, p. 172.

The Muscotines, after protracted efforts, abandoned the position in which they were attacked, and fled, closely pursued, to an intrenched position on *Presque Isle*, opposite Hog Island, near Lake St. Clair, some distance above the fort. Here they held out for four days against the combined French and Indian forces. Their women and children were actually starving, numbers dying from hunger every day. They sent messengers to the French officer, begging for quarter, offering to surrender at discretion, only craving that their remaining women and children and themselves might be spared the horror of a general massacre. The Indian allies of the French would submit to no such terms. "At the end of the fourth day, after fighting with much courage," says the French commander, "and not being able to resist further, the Muscotins surrendered at discretion to our people, who gave them no quarter. Our Indians lost sixty men, killed and wounded. The enemy lost a thousand souls—men, women and children. All our allies returned to our fort with their slaves (meaning the captives), and their amusement was to shoot four or five of them every day. The Hurons did not spare a single one of theirs."*

We find no instance in which the Kickapoos or Muscotins assisted either the French or the English in any of the intrigues or wars for the control of the fur trade, or the acquisition of disputed territory in the northwest. At the close of Pontiac's conspiracy, the Kickapoos, whose temporary lodges were pitched on the prairie near Fort Wayne, notified Captain Morris, the English ambassador, on his way from Detroit to Fort Chartes, to take possession of "the country of the Illinois"; that if the Miamis did not put him to death, they themselves would do so, should he attempt to pass their camp.†

Still later, on the 8th of June, 1765, as George Croghan, likewise an English ambassador, on his route by the Ohio River to Fort Chartes, was attacked at daybreak, at the mouth of the Wabash, by a party of eighty Kickapoo and Mascoutin warriors, who had set out from Fort Ouiatanon to intercept his passage, and killed two of his men and three Indians, and wounded Croghan himself, and all the rest of his party except two white men and one Indian. They then made all of them prisoners, and plundered them of everything they had.‡

* Official Report of M. Du Boisson on the Siege of Detroit.

† Parkman's History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, 3d single volume edition, p. 474.

‡ The narrative, Journal of Col. George Croghan, "who was sent, at the peace of 1763, etc., to explore the country adjacent to the Ohio River, and to conciliate the Indian nations who had hitherto acted with the French." [Reprinted] from Featherstonhaugh Am. Monthly Journal of Geology, Dec. 1831. Pamphlet, p. 17.

Having thrown such obstacles as were within their power against the French and English, the Kickapoos were ready to offer the same treatment to the Americans; and, when Col. Rogers Clark was at Kaskaskia, in 1778, negotiating peace treaties with the westward Indians, his enemies found a party of young Kickapoos the willing instruments to undertake, for a reward promised, to kill him.

As a military people, the Kickapoos were inferior to the Miamis, Delawares and Shawnees in movements requiring large bodies of men, but they were preëminent in predatory warfare. Parties consisting of from five to twenty persons were the usual number comprising their war parties. These small forces would push out hundreds of miles from their villages, and swoop down upon a feeble settlement, or an isolated pioneer cabin, and burn the property, kill the cattle, steal the horses, capture the women and children, and be off again before an alarm could be given of their approach. From such incursions of the Kickapoos the people of Kentucky suffered severely.*

A small war party of these Indians hovered upon the skirts of Gen. Harmer's army when he was conducting the campaign against the upper Wabash tribes, in 1790. They cut out a squad of ten regular soldiers of Gen. Harmer by decoying them into an ambuscade. Jackson Johonnot, the orderly sergeant in command of the regulars, gave an interesting account of their capture and the killing of his companions, after they were subjected to the severest hunger and fatigue on the march, and the running of the gauntlet on reaching the Indian villages.†

The Kickapoos were noted for their fondness of horses and their skill and daring in stealing them. They were so addicted to this practice that Joseph Brant, having been sent westward to the Maumee River in 1788, in the interest of the United States, to bring about a reconciliation with the several tribes inhabiting the Maumee and Wabash, wrote back that, in his opinion, "the Kickapoos, with the Shawnees and Miamis, were so much addicted to horse stealing that it would be difficult to break them of it, and as that kind of business was their best harvest, they would, of course, declare for war and decline giving up any of their country."‡

* One of the reasons urged to induce the building of a town at the falls of the Ohio was that it would afford a means of strength against, and be an object of terror to, "our savage enemies, the Kickapoo Indians." Letter of Col. Williams, January 3, 1776, from Boonsborough, to the proprietors of the grant, found in *Sketches of the West*, by James Hall.

† *Sketches of Western Adventure*, by M'Lung, contains a summarized account, taken from Johonnot's original narrative, published at Keene, New Hampshire, 1816.

‡ Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*, vol. 2, p. 278.

Between the years 1786 and 1796, the Kickapoo war parties, from their villages on the Wabash and Vermilion Rivers, kept the settlements in the vicinity of Kaskaskia in a state of continual alarm. Within the period named they killed and captured a number of men, women and children in that part of Illinois. Among their notable captures was that of William Biggs, whom they took across the prairies to their village on the west bank of the Wabash, above Attica, Indiana.*

Subsequent to the close of the Pontiac war, the Kickapoos, assisted by the Pottawatomies, almost annihilated the Kaskaskias at a place since called Battle Ground Creek, on the road leading from Kaskaskia to Shawneetown, and about twenty-five miles from the former place.† The Kaskaskias were shut up in the villages of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and the Kickapoos became the recognized proprietors of a large portion of the territory of the Kaskaskias on the west, and the hunting grounds of the Piankeshaw-Miamis on the east, of the dividing ridge between the Illinois and Wabash Rivers. The principal Kickapoo towns were on the left bank of the Illinois, near Peoria, and on the Vermilion, of the Wabash, and at several places on the west bank of the latter stream.‡

The Kickapoos of the prairie had villages west of Charleston, Illinois, about the head-waters of the Kaskaskia and in many of the groves scattered over the prairies between the Illinois and the Wabash and south of the Kankakee, notable among which were their towns at Elkhart Grove, on the Mackinaw, twelve miles north of Bloomington, and at Oliver's Grove, in Livingston county, Illinois.

These people were much attached to the country along the Vermilion River, and Gen. Harrison had great trouble in gaining their consent to cede it away. The Kickapoos valued it highly as a desirable home, and because of the minerals it was supposed to contain. In a letter, dated December 10, 1809, addressed to the

* Biggs was a tall and handsome man. He had been one of Col. Clark's soldiers, and had settled near Bellefontaine. He was well versed in the Indians' ways and their language. The Kickapoos took a great fancy to him. They adopted him into their tribe, put him through a ridiculous ceremony which transformed him into a genuine Kickapoo, after which he was offered a handsome daughter of a Kickapoo brave for a wife. He declined all these flattering temptations, however, purchased his freedom through the agency of a Spanish trader at the Kickapoo village, and returned home to his family, going down the Wabash and Ohio and up the Mississippi in a canoe. *Historical Sketch of the Early Settlements in Illinois, etc.*, by John M. Peck, read before the Illinois State Lyceum, August 16, 1832. In 1826, shortly before his death, Mr. Biggs published a narrative of his experience "while he was a prisoner with the Kickapoo Indians." It was published in pamphlet form, with poor type, and on very common paper, and contains twenty-three pages.

† J. M. Peck's Historical Address.

‡ Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, J. M. Peck's Address, and Gen. Harrison's Memoirs.

Secretary of War, by Gen. Harrison, the latter,—referring to the treaty at Fort Wayne in connection with his efforts at that treaty to induce the Kickapoos to release their title to the tract of country bounded on the east by the Wabash, on the south by the northern line of the so-called Harrison Purchase, extending from opposite the mouth of Raccoon Creek, northwest fifteen miles; thence to a point on the Vermilion River, twenty-five miles in a direct line from its mouth; thence down the latter stream to its confluence,—says “he was extremely anxious that the extinguishment of title should extend as high up as the Vermilion River. This small tract [of about twenty miles square] is one of the most beautiful that can be conceived, and is, moreover, believed to contain a very rich copper mine. The Indians were so extremely jealous of any search being made for this mine that the traders were always cautioned not to approach the hills which were supposed to contain it.”*

In the desperate plans of Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, to unite all of the Indian tribes in a war of extermination against the whites, the Kickapoos took an active part. Gen. Harrison made extraordinary efforts to avert the troubles that culminated in the battle of Tippecanoe. The Kickapoos were particularly uneasy; and in 1806 Gen. Harrison dispatched Capt. Wm. Prince to the Vermilion towns with a speech addressed to all the chiefs and warriors of the Kickapoo tribe, giving Capt. Prince further instructions to proceed to the villages in the prairies, if, after having delivered the speech at the Vermilion towns, he discovered that there would be no danger in proceeding beyond. The speech, which was full of good words, had little effect, and “shortly after the mission of Capt.

* General Harrison's Official Letter: American State Papers of Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 726. It was not copper, but a mineral having something like the appearance of silver, that the Indians so jealously guarded. Recent explorations among the bluffs on the Little Vermilion have resulted in the discovery of a number of ancient smelting furnaces, with the charred coals and slag remaining in and about them. The furnaces are crude, consisting of shallow excavations of irregular shape in the hillsides. These basins, averaging a few feet across the top, were lined with fire-clay. The bottoms of the pits were connected by ducts or troughs, also made of fire-clay, leading into reservoirs a little distance lower down the hillside, into which the metal could flow, when reduced to a liquid state, in the furnaces above. The pits were carefully filled with earth, and every precaution was taken to prevent their discovery, a slight depression in the surface of the ground being the only indication of their presence. The mines are from every appearance entitled to a claim of considerable antiquity, and are probably “the silver mines on the Wabash” that figure in the works of Hutchins, Inlay, and other early writers, as the geological formation of the country precludes there being any of the metals as high up or above “Ouatanon,” in the vicinity of which those authors, as well as other writers, have located these mines. The most plausible explanation of the use to which the metal was put is given by a half-breed Indian, whose ancestors lived in the vicinity and were in the secret that, after being smelted, the metal was sent to Montreal, where it was used as an alloy with silver, and converted into brooches, wristbands, and other like jewelry, and brought back by the traders and disposed of to the Indians.

Prince, the Prophet found means to bring the whole of the Kickapoos entirely under his influence. He prevailed on the warriors to reduce their old chief, *Joseph Renard's son*, to a private man. He would have been put to death but for the insignificance of his character.*

The Kickapoos fought in great numbers, and with frenzied courage, at the battle of Tippecanoe. They early sided with the British in the war that was declared between the United States and Great Britain the following June, and sent out numerous war parties that kept the settlements in Illinois and Indiana territories in constant peril, while other warriors represented their tribe in almost every battle fought on the western frontier during this war.

As the Pottawatomies and other tribes friendly to the English laid siege to Fort Wayne, the Kickapoos, assisted by the Winnebagoes, undertook the capture of Fort Harrison. They nearly succeeded, and would have taken the fort but for one of the most heroic and determined defenses under Capt. (afterward Gen.) Zachary Taylor.

Capt. Taylor's official letter to Gen. Harrison, dated September 10, 1812, contains a graphic account of the affair at Fort Harrison. The writer will here give the version of *Pa-koi-shee-can*, whom the French called *La Farine* and the Americans *The Flour*, the Kickapoo chief who planned the attack and personally executed the most difficult part of the programme.†

First, the Indians loitered about the fort, having a few of their women and children about them, to induce a belief that their presence was of a friendly character, while the main body of warriors were secreted at some distance off, waiting for favorable developments. Under the pretense of a want of provisions, the men and

* Memoirs of Gen. Harrison, p. 85. A foot-note on the same page is as follows: "Old Joseph Renard was a very different character, a great warrior and perfectly savage—delighting in blood. He once told some of the inhabitants of Vincennes that he used to be much diverted at the different exclamations of the Americans and the French while the Indians were scalping them, the one exclaiming *Oh Lord! oh Lord! oh Lord!*—the other *Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! mon Dieu!*"

† The account here given was narrated to the author by Mrs. Mary A. Baptiste, substantially as it was told to her by "Pa-koi-shee-can." This lady, with her husband, Christmas Dagney, was at Fort Harrison in 1821, where the latter was assisting in disbursing annuities to the assembled Indians. The business, and general spree which followed it, occupied two or three days. *La Farine* was present with his people to receive their share of annuities, and the old chief, having leisure, edified Mr. Dagney and his wife with a minute description of his attempt to capture the fort, pointing out the position of the attacking party and all the movements on the part of the Indians. *La Farine* was a large, fleshy man, well advanced in years and a thorough savage. As he related the story he warmed up and indulged in a great deal of pantomime, which gave force to, while it heightened the effect of, his narration. The particulars are given substantially as they were repeated to the author. The lady of whom he received it had never read an account of the engagement.

women were permitted to approach the fort, and had a chance to inspect the fort and its defenses, an opportunity of which the men fully availed themselves. A dark night, giving the appearance of rain, favored a plan which was at once put into execution. The warriors were called to the front, and the women and children retired to a place of safety. La Farine, with a large butcher knife in each hand, extended himself at full length upon the ground. He drove one knife into the ground and drew his body up against it, then he reached forward, with the knife in the other hand, and driving that into the ground drew himself along. In this way he approached the lower block-house, stealthily through the grass. He could hear the sentinels on their rounds within the fortified enclosure. As they advanced toward that part of the works where the lower block-house was situated, La Farine would lie still upon the ground, and when the sentinels made the turn and were moving in the opposite direction, he would again crawl nearer.* In this manner La Farine reached the very walls of the block-house. There was a crack between the logs of the block-house, and through this opening the Kickapoo placed a quantity of dry grass, bits of wood, and other combustible material, brought in a blanket tied about his back, so as to form a sack. As the preparation for this incendiarism was in progress, the sentinels passed within a very few feet of the place, as they paced by on the opposite side of the block-house. Everything being in readiness, and the sentinels at the farther end of the works, La Farine struck a fire with his flint and thrust it between the logs, and threw his blanket quickly over the opening, to prevent the light from flashing outside, and giving the alarm before the building should be well ablaze. When assured that the fire was well under way, he fell back and gave the signal, when the attack was immediately begun by the Indians at the other extremity of the fort. The lower block-house burned up in spite of all the efforts of the garrison to put out the fire, and for awhile the Indians were exultant in the belief of an assured and complete victory. Gen. Taylor constructed a barricade out of material taken from another building, and by the time the block-house burned the Indians discovered a new line of defenses, closing up the breach by which they expected to effect an entrance.†

* Capt. Taylor, being suspicious of mischief, took the precaution to order sentinels to make the rounds within the inclosure, as appears from his official report.

† The Indians, exasperated by the failure of their attempt upon Fort Harrison, made an incursion to the Pigeon Roost Fork of White River, where they massacred twenty-one of the inhabitants, many of them women and children. The details of some of the barbarities committed on this incursion are too shocking to narrate. They

In 1819, at a treaty concluded at Edwardsville, Illinois, they ceded to the United States all of their lands. Their claim included the following territory: "Beginning on the Wabash River, at the upper point of their cession, made by the second article of their treaty at Vincennes on the 9th of December, 1809;* thence running northwestwardly† to the dividing line between the states of Illinois and Indiana;‡ thence along said line to the Kankakee River; thence with said river to the Illinois River; thence down the latter to its mouth; thence in a direct line to the northwest corner of the Vincennes tract,§ and thence (north by a little east) with the western and northern boundaries of the cessions heretofore made by the Kickapoo tribe of Indians, to the beginning. Of which tract of land the said Kickapoo tribe claim a large portion by descent from their ancestors, and the balance by *conquest from the Illinois Nation and uninterrupted possession for more than half a century.*" An examination, extended through many volumes, leaves no doubt of the just claims of the Kickapoos to the territory described, or the length of time it had been in their possession.

With the close of the war of 1812, the Kickapoos ceased their active hostilities upon the whites, and within a few years afterward disposed of their lands in Illinois and Indiana, and, with the exception of a few bands, went westward of the Mississippi. "The Kickapoos," says ex-Gov. Reynolds, "disliked the United States so much that they decided, when they left Illinois that they would not reside within the limits of our government," but would settle in Texas. ¶ A large body of them did go to Texas, and when the

are given by Capt. M'Affe in his History of the Late War in the Western Country, p. 155. The garrison at Fort Harrison was cut off from communication with Vincennes for several days, and reduced to great extremity for want of provisions. They were relieved by Col. Russell. After this officer had left the fort, on his return to Vincennes, he passed several wagons with provisions on their way up to the fort under an escort of thirteen men, commanded by Lieut. Fairbanks, of the regular army. This body of men were surprised and cut to pieces by the Indians, two or three only escaping, while the provisions and wagons fell into the hands of the savages. *Vide* M'Affe, p. 155.

* At the mouth of Raccoon Creek, opposite Montezuma.

† Following the northwestern line of the so-called Harrison Purchase.

‡ The state line had not been run at this time, and when it was surveyed in 1821 it was discovered to be several miles west of where it was generally supposed it would be. The territory of the Kickapoos extended nearly as far east as La Fayette, as is evident from the location of some of their villages.

§ By the terms of the fourth article of the treaty of Greenville the United States reserved a tract of land on both sides of the Wabash, above and below Vincennes, to cover the rights of the inhabitants of that village who had received grants from the French and British governments. In 1803, for the purpose of settling the limits of this tract, General Harrison, on the 7th of June, 1803, at Fort Wayne, concluded a treaty with the Miamis, Kickapoos, Shawnees, Pottawatomies and Delawares. This cession of land became known as the *Vincennes tract*, and its northwest corner extends some twelve miles into Illinois, crossing the Wabash at Palestine.

¶ Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 8.

Lone Star Republic became one of the United States the Kickapoos retired to New Mexico, and subsequently some of them went to Old Mexico. Here on these isolated borders the wild bands of Kickapoos have for years maintained the reputation of their sires as a busy and turbulent people.*

A mixed band of Kickapoos and Pottawatomies, who resided on the Vermilion River and its tributaries, became christianized under the instructions of Ka-en-ne-kuck. This remarkable man, once a drunkard himself, reformed and became an exemplary christian, and commanded such influence over his band that they, too, became christians, abstained entirely from whisky, which had brought them to the verge of destruction, and gave up many of the other vices to which they were previously addicted. Ka-en-ne-kuck had religious services every Sunday, and so conscientious were his people that they abstained from labor and all frivolous pastimes on that day.†

Ka-en-ne-kuck's discourses were replete with religious thought, and advice given in accordance with the precepts of the Bible, and are more interesting because they were the utterances of an uneducated Indian, who is believed to have done more, in his sphere of action, in the cause of temperance and other moral reforms, than any other person has been able to accomplish among the Indians, although armed with all the power that education and talent could confer.

Ka-en-ne-kuck's band, numbering about two hundred persons, migrated to Kansas, and settled upon a reservation within the present limits of Jackson and Brown counties, where the survivors, and the immediate descendants of those who have since died, are now residing upon their farms. Their well-cultivated fields and their uniform good conduct attest the lasting effect of Ka-en-ne-kuck's teachings.

The wild bands have always been troublesome upon the southwestern borders, plundering upon all sides, making inroads into the settlements, killing stock and stealing horses. Every now and then

* In 1854 a band of them were found by Col. Marcy, living near Fort Arbuckle. He says of them: "They are intelligent, active and brave; they frequently visit and traffic with the prairie Indians, and have no fear of meeting these people in battle, provided the odds are not more than six to one against them." Marcy's *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, p. 95.

† One of Ka-en-ne-kuck's sermons was delivered at Danville, Illinois, on the 17th of July, 1831, to his own tribe, and a large concourse of citizens who asked permission to be present. The sermon was delivered in the Kickapoo dialect, interpreted into English, sentence at a time as spoken by the orator, by Gurdeon S. Hubbard, who spoke the Kickapoo as well as the Pottawatomie dialect with great fluency. The sermon was taken down in writing by Solomon Banta, a lawyer then living in Danville, and forwarded by him and Col. Hubbard to Judge James Hall, at Vandalia, Illinois, and published in the October number (1831) of his "Illinois Monthly Magazine."

their depredations form the subject of items for the current newspapers of the day. For years the government has failed in efforts to induce the wild band to remove to some point within the Indian Territory, where they might be restrained from annoying the border settlements of Texas and New Mexico. Some years ago a part of the semi-civilized Kickapoos in Kansas, preferring their old wild life to the ways of civilized society, left Kansas and joined the bands to the southwest. These last, after twelve years' roving in quest of plunder, were induced to return, and in 1875 they were settled in the Indian Territory and supplied with the necessary implements and provisions to enable them to go to work and earn an honest living. In this commendable effort at reform they are now making very satisfactory progress.* In 1875 the number of civilized Kickapoos within the Kansas agency was three hundred and eight-five, while the wild or Mexican band numbered four hundred and twenty, as appears from the official report on Indian affairs for that year.

As compared with other Indians, the Kickapoos were industrious, intelligent, and cleanly in their habits, and were better armed and clothed than the other tribes.† The men, as a rule, were tall, sinewy and active; the women were lithe, and many of them by no means lacking in beauty. Their dialect was soft and liquid, as compared with the rough and guttural language of the Pottawatomies.‡ They kept aloof from the white people, as a rule, and in this way preserved their characteristics, and contracted fewer of the vices of the white man than other tribes. Their numbers were never great, as compared with the Miamis or Pottawatomies; however, they made up for the deficiency in this respect by the energy of their movements.

In language, manners and customs the Kickapoos bore a very close resemblance to the Sac and Fox Indians, whose allies they generally were, and with whom they have by some writers been confounded.

* Report of Commissioner on Indian Affairs for the year 1875.

† Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois.

‡ Statement of Col. Hubbard to the writer.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SHAWNEES AND DELAWARES.

THE SHAWNEES were a branch of the Algonquin family, and in manners and customs bore a strong resemblance to the Delawares. They were the Bedouins of the wilderness, and their wanderings form a notable instance in the history of the nomadic races of North America. Before the arrival of the Europeans the Shawnees lived on the shores of the great lakes eastward of Cleveland. At that time the principal Iroquois villages were on the northern side of the lakes, above Montreal, and this tribe was under a species of subjection to the Adirondacks, the original tribe from whence the several Algonquin tribes are alleged to have sprung,* and made "the planting of corn their business."

"The Adirondacks, however, valued themselves as delighting in a more manly employment, and despised the Iroquois in following a business which they thought only fit for women. But it once happened that game failed the Adirondacks, which made them desire some of the young men of the Iroquois to assist them in hunting. These young men soon became much more expert in hunting, and able to endure fatigues, than the Adirondacks expected or desired; in short, they became jealous of them, and one night murdered all the young men they had with them." The chiefs of the Iroquois complained, but the Adirondacks treated their remonstrances with contempt, without being apprehensive of the resentment of the Iroquois, "for they looked upon them as women."

The Iroquois determined on revenge, and the Adirondacks, hearing of it, declared war. The Iroquois made but feeble resistance, and were forced to leave their country and fly to the south shores of the lakes, where they ever afterward lived. "Their chiefs, in order to raise their people's spirits, turned them against the *Satanas*, a less warlike nation, who then lived on the shores of the lakes." The Iroquois soon subdued the *Satanas*, and drove them from their country.†

* Adirondack is the Iroquois name for Algonquin.

† Colden's History of the Five Nations, pp. 22, 23. The Shawnees were known to the Iroquois by the name of *Satanas*. Same authority.

In 1632 the Shawnees were on the south side of the Delaware.* From this time the Iroquois pursued them, each year driving them farther southward. Forty years later they were on the Tennessee, and Father Marquette, in speaking of them, calls them Chaouanons, which was the Illinois word for southerners, or people from the south, so termed because they lived to the south of the Illinois cantons. The Iroquois still waged war upon the Shawnees, driving them to the extremities mentioned in the extracts quoted from Father Marquette's journal.† To escape further molestation from the Iroquois, the Shawnees continued a more southern course, and some of their bands penetrated the extreme southern states. The Suwanee River, in Florida, derived its name from the fact that the Shawnees once lived upon its banks. Black Hoof, the renowned chief of this tribe, was born in Florida, and informed Gen. Harrison, with whom for many years he was upon terms of intimacy, that he had often bathed in the sea.

"It is well known that they were at a place which still bears their name‡ on the Ohio, a few miles below the mouth of the Wabash, some time before the commencement of the revolutionary war, where they remained before their removal to the Sciota, where they were found in the year 1774 by Gov. Dunmore. Their removal from Florida was a necessity, and their progress from thence a flight rather than a deliberate march. This is evident from their appearance when they presented themselves upon the Ohio and claimed protection of the Miamis. They are represented by the chiefs of the Miamis and Delawares as supplicants for protection, not against the Iroquois, but against the Creeks and Seminoles, or some other southern tribe, who had driven them from Florida, and they are said to have been literally *sans provant et sans culottes* [hungry and naked].§

After their dispersion by the Iroquois, remnants of the tribe were found in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Pennsylvania, but after the return of the main body from the south, they became once more united, the Pennsylvania band leaving that colony about the same time that the Delawares did. During the forty years following that period, the whole tribe was in a state of perpetual war with America, either as British colonies or as independent states. By the treaty of

* De Laet.

† *Vide* p. 49 of this work.

‡ Shawneetown, Illinois.

§ Gen. Harrison's Historical Address, pp. 30, 31. This history of the Shawnees, says Gen. Harrison, was brought forward at a council at Vincennes in 1810, to resist the pretensions of Tecumseh to an interference with the Miamis in the disposal of their lands, and however galling the reference to these facts must have been to Tecumseh, he was unable to deny them.

Greenville, they lost nearly all the territory they had been permitted to occupy north of the Ohio.*

In 1819 they were divided into four tribes,—the Pequa,† the Mequachake, the Chillicothe, and the Kiskapocoke. The latter tribe was the one to which Tecumseh belonged. They were always hostile to the United States, and joined every coalition against the government. In 1806 they separated from the rest of the tribe, and took up their residence at Greenville. Soon afterward they removed to their former place of residence on Tippecanoe Creek, Indiana.‡

At the close of Gen. Wayne's campaign, a large body of the Shawnees settled near Cape Girardeau, Missouri, upon a tract of land granted to them and the Delawares in 1793, by Baron de Carondelet, governor of the Spanish provinces west of the Mississippi.§

From their towns in eastern Ohio, the Shawnees spread north and westward to the headwaters of the Big and Little Miamis, the St. Mary's, and the Au Glaize, and for quite a distance down the Maumee. They had extensive cultivated fields upon these streams, which, with their villages, were destroyed by Gen. Wayne on his return from the victorious engagement with the confederated tribes on the field of "fallen timbers."¶ Gen. Harmer, in his letter to the Secretary of War, communicating the details of his campaign on the Maumee, in October, 1790, gives a fine description of the country, and the location of the Shawnee, Delaware and Miami villages, in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne, as they appeared at that early day. We quote: "The savages and traders (who were, perhaps, the worst savages of the two) had evacuated their towns, and burnt the principal village called the *Omee*,■ together with all the traders' houses. *This* village lay on a pleasant point, formed by the junction of the rivers Omee and St. Joseph. It was situate on the east

* Gallatin.

† "In ancient times they had a large fire, which, being burned down, a great puffing and blowing was heard among the ashes; they looked, and behold a man stood up from the ashes! hence the name Piqua—a man coming out of the ashes, or made of ashes."

‡ Account of the Present State of the Indian Tribes Inhabiting Ohio: *Archæologia Americana*, vol. 1, pp. 274, 275. Mr. Johnson is in error in locating this band upon the Tippecanoe. *The prophets' town* was upon the west bank of the Wabash, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe.

§ Treaties with the Several Indian Tribes, etc.: Government edition, 1837. The Shawnees and Delawares relinquished their title to their Spanish grant by a treaty concluded between them and the United States on the 26th of October, 1832.

¶ "The army returned to this place [Fort Defiance] on the 27th, by easy marches, laying waste to the villages and corn-fields for about fifty miles on each side of the Miami [Maumee]. There remains yet a great number of villages and a great quantity of corn to be consumed or destroyed upon the Au Glaize and Miami above this place, which will be effected in a few days." Gen. Wayne to the Secretary of War: *American State Papers on Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, p. 491.

■ The Miami village.

bank of the latter, opposite the mouth of St. Mary, and had for a long time past been the rendezvous of a set of Indian desperadoes, who infested the settlements, and stained the Ohio and parts adjacent with the blood of defenseless inhabitants. This day we advanced nearly the same distance, and kept nearly the same course as yesterday; we encamped within six miles of the object, and on Sunday, the 17th, entered the ruins of the Omee town, or French village, as part of it is called. Appearances confirmed accounts I had received of the consternation into which the savages and their trading allies had been thrown by the approach of the army. Many valuables of the traders were destroyed in the confusion, and vast quantities of corn and other grain and vegetables were secreted in holes dug in the earth, and other hiding places. Colonel Hardin rejoined the army."

"*Besides* the town of *Omee*, there were several other villages situate upon the banks of three rivers. One of them, belonging to the Omee Indians, called Kegaigoue,* was standing and contained thirty houses on the bank *opposite* the principal village. Two others, consisting together of about forty-five houses, lay a few miles up the St. Mary's, and were inhabited by Delawares. Thirty-six houses occupied by other savages of this tribe formed another but scattered town, on the east bank of the St. Joseph, two or three miles north from the French village. About the same distance down the Omee River, lay the Shawnee town of Chillicothe, consisting of fifty-eight houses, opposite which, on the other bank of the river, were sixteen more habitations, belonging to savages of the same nation. All these I ordered to be burnt during my stay there, together with great quantities of corn and vegetables hidden as at the principal village, in the earth and other places by the savages, who had abandoned them. It is computed that there were no less than twenty thousand bushels of corn, in the ear, which the army either consumed or destroyed."†

The Shawnees also had a populous village within the present limits of Fountain county, Indiana, a few miles east of Attica. They gave their name to Shawnee Prairie and to a stream that discharges into the Wabash from the east, a short distance below Williamsport.

* *Ke-ki-ong-a*.—"The name in English is said to signify a blackberry patch [more probably a blackberry bush] which, in its turn, passed among the Miamis as a symbol of antiquity." Brice's History of Fort Wayne, p. 23.

† Gen. Harmer's Official Letter. It will be observed that Gen. Harmer treats the French Omee or Miami village as a separate town from that of *Ke-ki-ong-a*. His description is so minute, and his opportunities so favorable to know the facts, that there is scarcely a probability of his having been mistaken.

In 1854 the Shawnees in Kansas numbered nine hundred persons, occupying a reservation of one million six hundred thousand acres. Their lands were divided into severalty. They have banished whisky, and many of them have fine farms under cultivation. Being on the border of Missouri, they suffered from the rebel raids, and particularly that of Gen. Price in 1864. In 1865 they numbered eight hundred and forty-five persons. They furnished for the Union army one hundred and twenty-five men. The Shawnees have illustrated by their own conduct the capability of an Indian tribe to become civilized.*

THE DELAWARES called themselves *Lenno Lenape*, which signifies "original" or "unmixed" men. They were divided into three clans: the Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey. When first met with by the Europeans, they occupied a district of country bounded eastwardly by the Hudson River and the Atlantic; on the west their territories extended to the ridge separating the flow of the Delaware from the other streams emptying into the Susquehanna River and Chesapeake Bay.†

They, according to their own traditions, "many hundred years ago resided in the western part of the continent; thence by slow emigration, they at length reached the Alleghany River, so called from a nation of giants, the Allegewi, against whom the Delawares and Iroquois (the latter also emigrants from the west) carried on successful war; and still proceeding eastward, settled on the Delaware, Hudson, Susquehanna and Potomac rivers, making the Delaware the center of their possessions.‡

By the other Algonquin tribes the Delawares were regarded with the utmost respect and veneration. They were called "fathers," "grandfathers," etc.

"When William Penn landed in Pennsylvania the Delawares had been subjugated and made women by the Iroquois." They were prohibited from making war, placed under the sovereignty of the Iroquois, and even lost the right of dominion to the lands which they had occupied for so many generations. Gov. Penn, in his treaty with the Delawares, purchased from them the right of possession merely, and afterward obtained the relinquishment of the sovereignty from the Iroquois.§ The Delawares accounted for their humiliating relation to the Iroquois by claiming that their assumption of the rôle of women, or mediators, was entirely voluntary on their part.

* Gale's Upper Mississippi.

† Gallatin's Synopsis of the Indian Tribes, p. 44.

‡ Taylor's History of Ohio, p. 33.

§ Gallatin's Synopsis, etc.

They said they became "peacemakers," not through compulsion, but in compliance with the intercession of different belligerent tribes, and that this position enabled their tribe to command the respect of all the Indians east of the Mississippi. While it is true that the Delawares were very generally recognized as mediators, they never in any war or treaty exerted an influence through the possession of this title. It was an empty honor, and no additional power or benefit ever accrued from it. That the degrading position of the Delawares was not voluntary is proven in a variety of ways. "We possess none of the details of the war waged against the Lenapes, but we know that it resulted in the entire submission of the latter, and that the Iroquois, to prevent any further interruption from the Delawares, adopted a plan to humble and degrade them, as novel as it was effectual. Singular as it may seem, it is nevertheless true that the Lenapes, upon the dictation of the Iroquois, agreed to lay aside the character of warriors and assume that of women."* The Iroquois, while they were not present at the treaty of Greenville, took care to inform Gen. Wayne that the Delawares were their subjects — "that they had conquered them and put petticoats upon them." At a council held July 12, 1742, at the house of the lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania, where the subject of previous grants of land was under discussion, an Iroquois orator turned to the Delawares who were present at the council, and holding a belt of waumpum, addressed them thus: "Cousins, let this belt of waumpum serve to chastise you. You ought to be taken by the hair of your head and shaken severely, till you recover your senses and become sober. . . . But how came you to take upon yourself to sell land at all?" referring to lands on the Delaware River, which the Delawares had sold some fifty years before. "We conquered you; we made women of you. You know you are women, and can no more sell land than women; nor is it fit you should have the power of selling lands, since you would abuse it." The Iroquois orator continues his chastisement of the Delawares, indulging in the most opprobrious language, and closed his speech by telling the Delawares to remove immediately. "We don't give you the liberty to think about it. You may return to the other side of the Delaware, where you came from; but we don't know, considering how you had demeaned yourselves, whether you will be permitted to live there."†

The Quakers who settled Pennsylvania treated the Delawares in

* Discourse of Gen. Harrison.

† Minutes of the Conference at Philadelphia, in Colden's History of the Five Nations.

accordance with the rules of justice and equity. The result was that during a period of sixty years peace and the utmost harmony prevailed. This is the only instance in the settling of America by the English where uninterrupted friendship and good will existed between the colonists and the aboriginal inhabitants. Gradually and by peaceable means the Quakers obtained possession of the greater portion of their territory, and the Delawares were in the same situation as other tribes,—without lands, without means of subsistence. They were threatened with starvation. Induced by these motives, some of them, between the years 1740 and 1750, obtained from their uncles, the Wyandots, and with the assent of the Iroquois, a grant of land on the Muskingum, in Ohio. The greater part of the tribe remained in Pennsylvania, and becoming more and more dissatisfied with their lot, shook off the yoke of the Iroquois, joined the French and ravaged the frontiers of Pennsylvania. Peace was concluded at Easton in 1758, and ten years after the last remaining bands of the Delawares crossed the Alleghanies. Here, being removed from the influence of their dreaded masters, the Iroquois, the Delawares soon assumed their ancient independence. During the next four or five decades they were the most formidable of the western tribes. While the revolutionary war was in progress, as allies of the British, after its close, at the head of the northwestern confederacy of Indians, they fully regained their lost reputation. By their geographical position placed in the front of battle, they were, during those two wars, the most active and dangerous enemies of America.*

The territory claimed by the Delawares subsequent to their being driven westward from their former possessions, is established in a paper addressed to congress May 10, 1779, from delegates assembled at Princeton, New Jersey. The boundaries of their country, as declared in the address, is as follows: “From the mouth of the Alleghany River, at Fort Pitt, to the Venango, and from thence up French Creek, and by Le Bœuf,† along the old road to Presque Isle, *on the east*. The Ohio River, including all the islands in it, from Fort Pitt to the Ouabache, *on the south*; thence up the River Ouabache to that branch, *Ope-co-mee-cah*,‡ and up the same to the head thereof; from thence to the headwaters and springs of the Great Miami, or Rocky River; thence across to the headwaters and springs of the most northwestern branches of the Scioto River; thence to

* In the battle of Fallen Timbers there were three hundred Delawares out of seven hundred Indians who were in this engagement: Colonial History of Massachusetts, vol. 10.

† A fort on the present site of Waterford, Pa.

‡ This was the name given by the Delawares to White River, Indiana.

the westernmost springs of Sandusky River; thence down said river, including the islands in it and in the little lake,* to Lake Erie, *on the west and northwest*, and Lake Erie *on the north*. These boundaries contain the cessions of lands made to the Delaware nation by the Wayandots and other nations,† and the country we have seated our grandchildren, the Shawnees, upon, in our laps; and we promise to give to the United States of America such a part of the above described country as would be convenient to them and us, that they may have room for their children's children to set down upon."‡

After Wayne's victory the Delawares saw that further contests with the American colonies would be worse than useless. They submitted to the inevitable, acknowledged the supremacy of the Caucasian race, and desired to make peace with the victors. At the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, there were present three hundred and eighty-one Delawares,—a larger representation than that of any other Indian tribe. By this treaty they ceded to the United States the greater part of the lands allotted to them by the Wyandots and Iroquois.¶ For this cession they received an annuity of \$1,000.§

At the close of the treaty, Bu-kon-ge-he-las, a Delaware chief, spoke as follows:

Father: ¶ Your children all well understand the sense of the treaty which is now concluded. We experience daily proofs of your increasing kindness. I hope we may all have sense enough to enjoy our dawning happiness. Many of your people are yet among us. I trust they will be immediately restored. Last winter our king came forward to you with two; and when he returned with your speech to us, we immediately prepared to come forward with the remainder, which we delivered at Fort Defiance. All who know me know me to be a man and a warrior, and I now declare that I will for the future be as steady and true a friend to the United States as I have heretofore been an active enemy."¶

This promise of the orator was faithfully kept by his people. They evaded all the efforts of the Shawnee prophet, Tecumseh, and the British who endeavored to induce them, by threats or bribes, to violate it.**

* Sandusky Bay.

† The Hurons and Iroquois.

‡ Pioneer History, by S. P. Hildreth, p. 137, where the paper setting forth the claims of the Delawares is copied.

§ American State Papers: Indian Affairs, vol. 1.

¶ Gen. Wayne.

¶ American State Papers: Indian Affairs, vol. 1, p. 582.

** Bu-kon-ge-he-las was a warrior of great ability. He took a leading part in maneuvering the Indians at the dreadful battle known as St. Clair's defeat. He rose from a private warrior to the head of his tribe. Until after Gen. Wayne's great victory

The Delawares remained faithful to the United States during the war of 1812, and, with the Shawnees, furnished some very able warriors and scouts, who rendered valuable service to the United States during this war.

After the treaty of Greenville, the great body of Delawares removed to their lands on White River, Indiana, whither some of their people had already preceded them.

Their manner of obtaining possession of their lands on White River is thus related in Dawson's *Life of Harrison*: "The land in question had been granted to the Delawares about the year 1770, by the Piankeshaws, on condition of their settling upon it and assisting them in a war with the Kickapoos." These terms were complied with, and the Delawares remained in possession of the land.

The title to the tract of land lying between the Ohio and White Rivers soon became a subject of dispute between the Piankeshaws and Delawares. A chief of the latter tribe, in 1803, at Vincennes, stated to Gen. Harrison that the land belonged to his tribe, "and that he had with him a chief who had been present at the transfer made by the Piankeshaws to the Delawares, of all the country between the Ohio and White Rivers more than thirty years previous." This claim was disputed by the Piankeshaws. They admitted that while they had granted the Delawares the right of occupancy, yet they had never conveyed the right of sovereignty to the tract in question.

Gov. Harrison, on the 19th and 27th of August, 1804, concluded treaties with the Delawares and Piankeshaws by which the United States acquired all that fine country between the Ohio and Wabash Rivers. Both of these tribes laying claim to the land, it became

in 1794, he had been a devoted partisan of the British and a mortal foe to the United States. He was the most distinguished warrior in the Indian Confederacy; and as it was the British interests which had induced the Indians to commence, as well as to continue, the war, Buck-on-ge-he-las relied upon British support and protection. This support had been given so far as relates to provisions, arms and ammunition; but at the end of the battle referred to, the gates of Fort Miamis, near which the action was fought, were shut, by the British within, against the wounded Indians after the battle. This opened the eyes of the Delaware warrior. He collected his braves in canoes, with the design of proceeding up the river, under a flag of truce, to Fort Wayne. On approaching the British fort he was requested to land. He did so, and addressing the British officer, said, "What have you to say to me?" The officer replied that the commandant wished to speak with him. "Then he may come here," was the chief's reply. "He will not do that," said the sub-officer; "and you will not be suffered to pass the fort if you do not comply." "What shall prevent me?" "These," said the officer, pointing to the cannon of the fort. "I fear not your cannon," replied the intrepid chief. "After suffering the Americans to insult and treat you with such contempt, without daring to fire upon *them*, you cannot expect to frighten *me*." Buck-on-ge-he-las then ordered his canoes to push off from the shore, and the fleet passed the fort without molestation. A note [No. 2]: *Memoirs of Gen. Harrison.*

necessary that both should be satisfied, in order to prevent disputes in the future. In this, however, the governor succeeded, on terms, perhaps, more favorable than if the title had been vested in only one of these tribes; for, as both claimed the land, the value of each claim was considerably lowered in the estimation of both; and, therefore, by judicious management, the governor effected the purchase upon probably as low, if not lower, terms that if he had been obliged to treat with only one of them. For this tract the Piankeshaws received \$700 in goods and \$200 per annum for ten years; the compensation of the Delawares was an annuity of \$300 for ten years.

The Delawares continued to reside upon White River and its branches until 1819, when most of them joined the band who had emigrated to Missouri upon the tract of land granted jointly to them and the Shawnees, in 1793, by the Spanish authorities. Others of their number who remained scattered themselves among the Miamis, Pottawatomies and Kickapoos; while still others, including the Moravian converts, went to Canada. At that time, 1819, the total number of those residing in Indiana was computed to be eight hundred souls.*

In 1829 the majority of the nation were settled on the Kansas and Missouri rivers. They numbered about 1,000, were brave, enterprising hunters, cultivated lands and were friendly to the whites. In 1853 they sold to the government all the lands granted them, excepting a reservation in Kansas. During the late Rebellion they sent to the United States army one hundred and seventy out of their two hundred able-bodied men. Like their ancestors they proved valiant and trustworthy soldiers. Of late years they have almost entirely lost their aboriginal customs and manners. They live in houses, have schools and churches, cultivate farms, and, in fact, bid fair to become useful and prominent citizens of the great Republic.

*Their principal towns were on the branches of White River, within the present limits of Madison and Delaware counties, and the capital of the latter is named after the "Muncy" or "Mon-o-sia" band. Pipe Creek and Kill Buck Creek, branches of White River, are also named after two distinguished Delaware chiefs.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE INDIANS: THEIR IMPLEMENTS, UTENSILS, FORTIFICATIONS, MOUNDS, AND THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

BEFORE the arrival of the Europeans the use of iron was but little known to the North American Indians. Marquette, in speaking of the Illinois, states that they were entirely ignorant of the use of iron tools, their weapons being made of stone.* This was true of all the Indians who made their homes north of the Ohio, but south of that stream metal tools were occasionally met with. When Hernando De Soto, in 1539-43, was traversing the southern part of that territory, now known as the United States, in his vain search for gold, some of his followers found the natives on the Savanna River using hatchets made of copper.† It is evident that these hatchets were of native manufacture, for they were "said to have a mixture of gold."

The southern Indians "had long bows, and their arrows were made of certain canes like reeds, very heavy, and so strong that a sharp cane passeth through a target. Some they arm in the point with a sharp bone of a fish, like a chisel, and in others they fasten certain stones like points of diamonds."‡ These bones or "scale of the armed fish" were neatly fastened to the head of the arrows with splits of cane and fish glue.§ The northern Indians used arrows with stone points. Father Rasles thus describes them: "Arrows are the principal arms which they use in war and in the chase. They are pointed at the end with a stone, cut and sharpened in the shape of a serpent's tongue; and, if no knife is at hand, they use them also to skin the animals they have killed."|| "The bow-strings were prepared from the entrails of a stag, or of a stag's skin, which they know how to dress as well as any man in France, and with as many different colors. They head their arrows with the teeth of fishes and stone, which they work very finely and handsomely."¶

* Sparks' Life of Marquette, p. 281.

† A Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando De Soto, by a Gentleman of Elvas; published at Evora in 1557, and afterward translated and published in the second volume of the Historical Collections of Louisiana, p. 149.

‡ Idem, p. 124.

§ Du Pratz' History of Louisiana: English translation, vol. 2, pp. 223, 224.

|| Kip's Jesuit Missions, p. 39.

¶ History of the First Attempt of the French to Colonize Florida, in 1562, by René Laudonnière: published in Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, vol. 1, p. 170.

Most of the hatchets and knives of the northern Indians were likewise made of sharpened stones, "which they fastened in a cleft piece of wood with leathern thongs."* Their tomahawks were constructed from stone, the horn of a stag, or "from wood in the shape of a cutlass, and terminated by a large ball." The tomahawk was held in one hand and a knife in the other. As soon as they dealt a blow on the head of an enemy, they immediately cut it round with the knife, and took off the scalp with extraordinary rapidity.†

Du Pratz thus describes their method of felling trees with stone implements and with fire: "Cutting instruments are almost continually wanted: but as they had no iron, which of all metals is the most useful in human society, they were obliged, with infinite pains, to form hatchets out of large flints, by sharpening their thin edge, and making a hole through them for receiving the handle. To cut down trees with these axes would have been almost an impracticable work; they were, therefore, obliged to light fires round the roots of them, and to cut away the charcoal as the fire eat into the tree."‡

Charlevoix makes a similar statement: "These people, before we provided them with hatchets and other instruments, were very much at a loss in felling their trees, and making them fit for such uses as they intended them for. They burned them near the root, and in order to split and cut them into proper lengths they made use of hatchets made of flint, which never broke, but which required a prodigious time to sharpen. In order to fix them in a shaft, they cut off the top of a young tree, making a slit in it, as if they were going to draft it, into which slit they inserted the head of the axe. The tree, growing together again in length of time, held the head of the hatchet so firm that it was impossible for it to get loose; they then cut the tree at the length they deemed sufficient for the handle."§

When they were about to make wooden dishes, porringers or spoons, they cut the blocks of wood to the required shape with stone hatchets, hollowed them out with coals of fire, and polished them with beaver teeth.||

Early settlers in the neighborhood of Thorntown, Indiana, noticed that the Indians made their hominy-blocks in a similar manner. Round stones were heated and placed upon the blocks which were to be excavated. The charred wood was dug out with knives, and

* Hennepin, vol. 2, p. 103.

† Letter of Father Rasles in Kip's *Jesuit Missions*, p. 40.

‡ Volume 2, p. 223.

§ *Narrative Journal*, vol. 2, p. 126.

|| Hennepin, vol. 2, p. 103.

then the surface was polished with stone implements. These round stones were the common property of the tribe, and were used by individual families as occasion required.*

“They dug their ground with an instrument of wood, which was fashioned like a broad mattock, wherewith they dig their vines as in France; they put two grains of maize together.”†

For boiling their victuals they made use of *earthen* kettles.‡ The kettle was held up by two crotches and a stick of wood laid across. The pot ladle, called by them *mikoine*, laid at the side.§ “In the north they often made use of wooden kettles, and made the water boil by throwing into it red hot pebbles. Our iron pots are esteemed by them as much more commodious than their own.”||

That the North American Indians not only used, but actually manufactured, pottery for various culinary and religious purposes admits of no argument. Hennepin remarks: “Before the arrival of the Europeans in North America both the northern and southern savages made use of, and do to this day use, earthen pots, especially such as have no commerce with the Europeans, from whom they may procure kettles and other movables.”¶ M. Pouchot, who was acquainted with the manners and customs of the Canadian Indians, states “that they formerly had usages and utensils to which they are now scarcely accustomed. *They made pottery* and drew fire from wood.”**

In 1700, Father Gravier, in speaking of the Yazoo, says: “You see there in their cabins neither clothes, nor sacks, nor kettles, nor guns; they carry all with them, *and have no riches but earthen pots*, quite well made, especially *little glazed pitchers*, as neat as you would see in France.”†† The Illinois also occasionally used glazed pitchers.‡‡ The manufacturing of these earthen vessels was done by the women.§§ By the southern Indians the earthenware goods were used for religious as well as domestic purposes. Gravier noticed several in their temples, containing bones of departed warriors, ashes, etc.

* Statements of early settlers.

† Laudonnière, p. 174.

‡ Hennepin, vol. 2, p. 105.

§ Pouchot's Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 186.

|| Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, vol. 2, pp. 123, 124.

¶ Volume 2, pp. 102, 103. This work was written in 1697.

** Pouchot's Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 219.

†† Gravier's Journal, published in Shea's Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, p. 135.

‡‡ *Vide* p. 109 of this work.

§§ Gravier's Journal, published in Shea's Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, p. 135; also, Du Pratz' History of Louisiana, vol. 2, p. 166.

The American Indians, both northern and southern, had most of their villages fortified either by wooden palisades, or earthen breastworks and palisades combined. De Soto, on the 19th of June, 1541, entered the town of Pacaha,* which was very great, walled, and beset with towers, and many loopholes were in the towers and wall.† Charlevoix said: "The Indians are more skillful in erecting their fortifications than in building their houses. Here you see villages surrounded with good palisades and with redoubts; and they are very careful to lay in a proper provision of water and stones. These palisades are double, and even sometimes treble, and generally have battlements on the outer circumvallation. The piles, of which they are composed, are interwoven with branches of trees, without any void space between them. This sort of fortification was sufficient to sustain a long siege whilst the Indians were ignorant of the use of fire-arms."‡

La Hontan thus describes these palisaded towns: "Their villages are fortified with double palisadoes of very hardwood, which are as thick as one's thigh, and fifteen feet high, with little squares about the middle of courtieses."§

These wooden fortifications were used to a comparatively late day. At the siege of Detroit, in 1712, the Foxes and Mascoutins resisted, in a wooden fort, for nineteen days, the attack of a much larger force of Frenchmen and Indians. In order to avoid the fire of the French, they dug holes four or five feet deep in the bottom of their fort.

The western Indians, in their fortifications, made use of both earth and wood. An early American author remarks: "The remains of Indian fortifications seen throughout the western country, have given rise to strange conjectures, and have been supposed to appertain to a period extremely remote; but it is a fact well known that in some of them the remains of palisadoes were found by the first settlers."¶ When Maj. Long's party, in 1823, passed through Fort Wayne, they inquired of Metea, a celebrated Pottawatomie chief well versed in the lore of his tribe, whether he had ever heard of any tradition accounting for the erection of those artificial mounds which are found scattered over the whole country. "He immediately replied *that they had been constructed by the Indians as fortifica-*

* Probably in the limits of the present state of Arkansas.

† Account by the Gentleman of Elvas, p. 172.

‡ Narrative Journal, vol. 2, p. 128.

§ Vol. 2, p. 6.

|| Dubuisson's Official Report.

¶ Views of Louisiana: Brackenridge, p. 14.

tions before the white man had come among them. He had always heard this origin ascribed to them, and knew three of those constructions which were supposed to have been made by his nation. One is at the fork of the Kankakee and the Des Plaines Rivers, a second on the Ohio, which, from his description, was supposed to be at the mouth of the Muskingum. He visited it, but could not describe the spot accurately, and a third, which he had also seen, he stated to be on the head-waters of the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan. This latter place is about forty miles northwest of Fort Wayne."

One of the Miami chiefs, whom the traders named Le Gros, told Barron* that "he had heard that his father had fought with his tribe in one of the forts at Piqua, Ohio; that the fort had been erected by the Indians against the French, and that his father had been killed during one of the assaults made upon it."†

While at Chicago, and "with a view to collect as much information as possible on the subject of Indian antiquities, we inquired of Robinson‡ whether any traditions on this subject were current among the Indians. He observed that these ancient fortifications were a frequent subject of conversation, and especially those in the nature of excavations made in the ground. He had heard of one made by the Kickapoos and Fox Indians on the Sangamo River, a stream running into the Illinois. This fortification is distinguished by the name of *Etnataek*. It is known to have served as an intrenchment to the Kickapoos and Foxes, who were met there and defeated by the Pottawatomies, the Ottawas and Chippeways. No date was assigned to this transaction. We understood that the *Etnataek* was near the Kickapoo village on the Sangamo."§

Near the dividing line between sections 4 and 5, township 31 north, of range 11 east, in Kankakee county, Illinois, on the prairie about a mile above the mouth of Rock Creek, are some ancient mounds. "One is very large, being about one hundred feet base in diameter and about twenty feet high, in a conic form, and is said to contain the remains of two hundred Indians who were killed in the celebrated battle between the Illinois and Chippeways, Delawares and Shawnees; and about two chains to the northeast, and the same

* An Indian interpreter.

† Long's Expedition to the Sources of the St. Peters, vol. 1, pp. 121, 122.

‡ Robinson was a Pottawatomie half-breed, of superior intelligence, and his statements can be relied upon. He died, only a few years ago, on the Au Sable River.

§ Long's Expedition, vol. 1, p. 121. This stream is laid down on Joliet's map, published in 1681, as the Pierres Sangumes. In the early gazetteers it is called *Sangamo*: vide Beck's Illinois and Missouri Gazetteer, p. 154. Its signification in the Pottawatomie dialect is "a plenty to eat": Early History of the West and Northwest, by S. R. Beggs, p. 157. This definition, however, is somewhat doubtful.

distance to the northwest, are two other small mounds, which are said to contain the remains of the chiefs of the two parties."*

Uncorroborated Indian traditions are not entitled to any high degree of credibility, and these quoted are introduced to refute the often repeated assertion *that the Indians had no tradition* concerning the origin of the mounds scattered through the western states, or that they supposed them to have been erected by a race who occupied the continent anterior to themselves.

These mounds were seldom or never used for religious purposes by the Algonquins or Iroquois, but Penicault states that when he visited the Natchez Indians, in 1704, "the houses of the Sun† are built on mounds, and are distinguished from each other by their size. The mound upon which the house of the Great Chief, or Sun, is built is larger than the rest, and its sides are steeper. The temple in the village of the Great Sun is about thirty feet high and forty-eight in circumference, with the walls eight feet thick and covered with a matting of canes, in which they keep up a perpetual fire."‡

De Soto found the houses of the chiefs built on mounds of different heights, according to their rank, and their villages fortified with palisades, or walls of earth, with gateways to go in and out.§

When Gravier, in 1700, visited the Yazoops, he noticed that their temple was raised on a mound of earth.¶ He also, in speaking of the Ohio, states that "it is called by the Illinois and Oumiamis the river of the *Akansea*, because the *Akansea* formerly dwelt on it."■ The *Akansea* or *Arkansas* Indians possessed many traits and customs in common with the Natchez, having temples, pottery, etc. A still more important fact is noticed by Du Pratz, who was intimately acquainted with the Great Sun. He says: "The temple is about thirty feet square, and stands on an artificial mound about eight feet high, by the side of a small river. The mound slopes insensibly from the main front, which is northward, but on the other sides it is somewhat steeper."

According to their own traditions, the Natchez "were at one

* Manuscript Kankakee Surveys, conducted by Dan W. Beckwith, deputy government surveyor, in 1834. Major Beckwith was intimately acquainted with the Pottawatomies of the Kankakee, whose villages were in the neighborhood, and without doubt the account of these mounds incorporated in his Field Notes was communicated to him by them.

† The chiefs of the Natches were so called because they were supposed to be the direct descendants of a man and woman, who, descending from the sun, were the first rulers of this people.

‡ Annals of Louisiana: Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida, new series, pp. 94, 95.

§ Account by the Gentleman of Elvas.

¶ Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi, p. 136.

■ Idem, p. 120.

time the most powerful nation in all North America, and were looked upon by the other nations as their superiors, and were, on that account, respected by them. Their territory extended *from the River Iberville, in Louisiana, to the Wabash.*"* They had over five hundred sons, and, consequently, nearly that many villages. Their decline and retreat to the south was owing not to the superiority in arms of the less civilized surrounding tribes, but was due to the pride of their own chiefs, who, to lend an imposing magnificence to their funeral rites, adopted the impolitic custom of having hundreds of their followers strangled at their pyre. Many of the mounds, scattered up and down valleys of the Wabash, Ohio and Mississippi, while being the only, may be the time-defying monuments of the departed power and grandeur of these two tribes.

The Indian manner of making a fire is thus related by Hennepin: "Their way of making a fire, which is new and unknown to us, is thus: they take a triangular piece of cedar wood of a foot and a half in length, wherein they bore some holes half through; then they take a switch, or another small piece of hard wood, and with both their hands rub the strongest upon the weakest in the hole, which is made in the cedar, and while they are thus rubbing they let fall a sort of dust or powder, which turns into fire. This white dust they roll up in a pellet of herbs, dried in autumn, and rubbing them all together, and then blowing upon the dust that is in the pellets, the fire kindles in a moment."†

The food of the Indians consisted of all the varieties of game, fishes and wild fruits in the vicinity; and they cultivated Indian corn, melons and squashes. From corn they made a preparation called sagamite. They pulverized the corn, mixed it with water, and added a small proportion of ground gourds or beans.

The clothing of the northern Indians consisted only of the skins of wild animals, roughly prepared for that purpose. Their southern brethren were far in advance of them in this respect. "Many of the women wore cloaks of the bark of the mulberry tree, or of the feathers of swans, turkies or Indian ducks. The bark they take from young mulberry shoots that rise from the roots of trees that have been cut down. After it is dried in the sun they beat it to make all the woody parts fall off, and they give the threads that remain a second beating, after which they bleach them by exposing them to the dew. When they are well whitened they spin them about the coarseness of pack-thread, and weave them in the following manner:

* Du Pratz' History of Louisiana, vol. 2, p. 146.

† Ibid. vol. 2, p. 103.

They plant two stakes in the ground about a yard and a half asunder, and having stretched a cord from the one to the other, they fasten their threads of bark double to this cord, and then interweave them in a curious manner into a cloak of about a yard square, with a wrought border round the edges.”*

The Indians had three varieties of canoes, elm-bark, birch-bark and pirogues. “Canoes of elm-bark were not used for long voyages, as they were very frail. When the Indians wish to make a canoe of elm-bark they select the trunk of a tree which is very smooth, at the time when the sap remains. They cut it around, above and below, about ten, twelve or fifteen feet apart, according to the number of people which it is to carry. After having taken off the whole in one piece, they shave off the roughest of the bark, which they make the inside of the canoe. They make end ties of the thickness of a finger, and of sufficient length for the canoe, using young oak or any other flexible and strong wood, and fasten the two larger folds of the bark between these strips, spreading them apart with wooden bows, which are fastened in about two feet apart. They sew up the two ends of the bark with strips drawn from the inner bark of the elm, giving attention to raise up a little the two extremities, which they call *pincers*, making a swell in the middle and a curve on the sides, to resist the wind. If there are any chinks, they sew them together with thongs and cover them with chewing-gum, which they crowd by heating it with a coal of fire. The bark is fastened to the wooden bows by wooden thongs. They add a mast, made of a piece of wood and cross-piece to serve as a yard, and their blankets serve them as sails. These canoes will carry from three to nine persons and all their equipage. They sit upon their heels, without moving, as do also their children, when they are in, from fear of losing their balance, when the whole machine would upset. But this very seldom happened, unless struck by a flaw of wind. They use these vessels particularly in their war parties.

“The canoes made of birch bark were much more solid and more artistically constructed. The frames of these canoes are made of strips of cedar wood, which is very flexible, and which they render as thin as a side of a sword-scabbard, and three or four inches wide. They all touch one another, and come up to a point between the two end strips. This frame is covered with the bark of the birch tree, sewed together like skins, secured between the end strips and tied

* Du Pratz, vol. 2, p. 231; also, Gravier's Voyage, p. 134. The aboriginal method of procuring thread to sew together their garments made of skins has already been noticed in the description of the manners and customs of the Illinois.

along the ribs with the inner bark of the roots of the cedar, as we twist willows around the hoops of a cask. All these seams are covered with gum,* as is done with canoes of elm bark. They then put in cross-bars to hold it and to serve as seats, and a long pole, which they lay on from fore to aft in rough weather to prevent it from being broken by the shocks occasioned by pitching. They have with them three, six, twelve and even twenty-four places, which are designated as so many seats. The French are almost the only people who use these canoes for their long voyages. They will carry as much as three thousand pounds.**† These were vessels in which the fur trade of the entire northwest has been carried on for so many years. They were very light, four men being able to carry the largest of them over portages. At night they were unloaded, drawn upon the shore, turned over and served the savages or traders as huts. They could endure gales of wind that would play havoc with vessels of European manufacture. In calm water, the canoe men, in a sitting posture, used paddles; in stemming currents, rising from their seats, they substituted poles for paddles, and in shooting rapids, they rested on their knees.

Pirogues were the trunks of trees hollowed out and pointed at the extremities. A fire was started on the trunk, out of which the pirogue was to be constructed. The fire was kept within the desired limits by the dripping of water upon the edges of the trunk. As a part became charred, it was dug out with stone hatchets and the fire rekindled. This kind of canoes was especially adapted for the navigation of the Mississippi and Missouri; the current of these streams carrying down trees, which formed snags, rendered their navigation by bark canoes exceedingly hazardous. It was probably owing to this reason, as well as because there were no birch trees in their country, that the Illinois and Miamis were not, as the Jesuits remarked, "canoe nations;" they used the awkward, heavy pirogue instead.

Each nation was divided into villages. The Indian village, when unfortified, had its cabins scattered along the banks of a river or the

* "The small roots of the spruce tree afford the *wattap* with which the bark is sewed, and the gum of the pine tree supplies the place of tar and oakum. Bark, some spare wattap and gum are always carried in each canoe, for the repairs which frequently become necessary." *Vide Henry's Travels*, p. 14.

† The above extracts are taken from the *Memoir Upon the Late War in North America Between the French and English, 1755-1760*, by M. Pouchot; translated and edited by Franklin Hough, vol. 2, pp. 216, 217, 218. Pouchot was the commandant at Fort Niagara at the time of its surrender to the English. He was exceedingly well versed in all that pertained to Indian manners and customs, and his work received the indorsement of Marquis Vaudrenil, Governor of Canada. Of the translation, there were only two hundred copies printed.

shores of a lake, and often extended for three or four miles. Each cabin held the head of the family, the children, grandchildren, and often the brothers and sisters, so that a single cabin not unfrequently contained as many as sixty persons. Some of their cabins were in the form of elongated squares, of which the sides were not more than five or six feet high. They were made of bark, and the roof was prepared from the same material, having an opening in the top for the passage of smoke. At both ends of the cabin there were entrances. The fire was built under the hole in the roof, and there were as many fires as there were families.

The beds were upon planks on the floor of the cabin, or upon simple hides, which they called *appichimon*, placed along the partitions. They slept upon these skins, wrapped in their blankets, which, during the day, served them for clothing. Each one had his particular place. The man and wife crouched together, her back being against his body, their blankets passed around their heads and feet, so that they looked like a plate of ducks.* These bark cabins were used by the Iroquois, and, indeed, by many Indian tribes who lived exclusively in the forests.

The prairie Indians, who were unable to procure bark, generally made mats out of platted reeds or flags, and placed these mats around three or four poles tied together at the ends. They were, in form, round, and terminated in a cone. These mats were sewed together with so much skill that, when new, the rain could not penetrate them. This variety of cabins possessed the great advantage that, when they moved their place of residence, the mats of reeds were rolled up and carried along by the squaws.†

“The nastiness of these cabins alone, and that infection which was a necessary consequence of it, would have been to any one but an Indian a severe punishment. Having no windows, they were full of smoke, and in cold weather they were crowded with dogs. The Indians never changed their garments until they fell off by their very rottenness. Being never washed, they were fairly alive with vermin. In summer the savages bathed every day, but immediately afterward rubbed themselves with oil and grease of a very rank smell. “In winter they remained unwashed, and it was impossible to enter their cabins without being poisoned with the stench.”

All their food was very ill-seasoned and insipid. “and there prevailed in all their repasts an uncleanness which passed all concep-

* Extract from Pouchot's Memoirs, pp. 185. 186.

† Letter of Father Marest, Kip's Jesuit Missions, p. 199.

tion. There were very few animals which did not feed cleaner."* They never washed their wooden or bark dishes, nor their porringers and spoons.† In this connection William Biggs states: "They‡ plucked off a few of the largest feathers, then threw the duck,—feathers, entrails and all,—into the soup-kettle, and cooked it in that manner."§

The Indians were cannibals, though human flesh was only eaten at war feasts. It was often the case that after a prisoner had been tortured his body was thrown into "the war-kettle," and his remains greedily devoured. This fact is uniformly asserted by the early French writers. Members of Major Long's party made especial inquiries at Fort Wayne concerning this subject, and were entirely convinced. They met persons who had attended the feasts, and saw Indians who acknowledged that they had participated in them. Joseph Barron saw the Pottawatomies with hands and limbs, both of white men and Cherokees, which they were about to devour. Among some tribes cannibalism was universal, but it appears that among the Pottawatomies and Miamis it was restricted to a fraternity whose privilege and duty it was on all occasions to eat of the enemy's flesh;—at least one individual must be eaten. The flesh was sometimes dried and taken to the villages.

The Indians had some peculiar funeral customs. Joutel thus records some of his observations: "They pay a respect to their dead, as appears by their special care of burying them, and even of putting into lofty coffins the bodies of such as are considerable among them, as their chiefs and others, which is also practiced among the Accanceas, but they differ in this respect, that the Accanceas weep and make their complaints for some days, whereas the Shawnees and other people of the Illinois nation do just the contrary, for when any of them die they wrap them up in skins and then put them into coffins made of the bark of trees, then sing and dance about them for twenty-four hours. Those dancers take care to tie calabashes, or gourds, about their bodies, with some Indian corn in them, to rattle and make a noise, and some of them have a drum, made of a great *earthen pot*, on which they extend a wild goat's skin, and beat thereon with one stick, like our tabors. During that rejoicing they threw their presents on the coffin, as bracelets,

* Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, vol. 2, pp. 132, 133.

† For a full account of their lack of neatness in the culinary department, *vide* Hennepin, vol. 2, p. 120.

‡ The Kickapoos.

§ Narrative of William Biggs, p. 9.

|| Long's Expedition to the sources of the St. Peters, vol. 1, pp. 103-106.

pendants or pieces of *earthenware*. When the ceremony was over they buried the body, with a part of the presents, making choice of such as may be most proper for it. They also bury with it some store of Indian wheat, with a *pot* to boil it in, for fear the dead person should be hungry on his long journey, and they repeat the ceremony at the year's end. A good number of presents still remaining, they divide them into several lots and play at a game called the stick to give them to the winner."*

The Indian graves were made of a large size, and the whole of the inside lined with bark. On the bark was laid the corpse, accompanied with axes, snow-shoes, kettle, common shoes, and, if a woman, carrying-belts and paddles.

This was covered with bark, and at about two feet nearer the surface, logs were laid across, and these again covered with bark, so that the earth might by no means fall upon the corpse.† If the deceased, before his death, had so expressed his wish, a tree was hollowed out and the corpse deposited within. After the body had become entirely decomposed, the bones were often collected and buried in the earth. Many of these wooden sepulchres were discovered by the early settlers in Iroquois county, Illinois. Doubtless they were the remains of Pottawatomies, who at that time resided there.

After a death they took care to visit every place near their cabins, striking incessantly with rods and raising the most hideous cries, in order to drive the souls to a distance, and to keep them from lurking about their cabins.‡

The Indians believed that every animal contained a Manitou or God, and that these spirits could exert over them a beneficial or prejudicial influence. The rattlesnake was especially venerated by them. Henry relates an instance of this veneration. He saw a snake, and procured his gun, with the intention of dispatching it. The Indians begged him to desist, and, "with their pipes and tobacco-pouches in their hands, approached the snake. They surrounded it, all addressing it by turns and calling it their *grandfather*, but yet kept at some distance. During this part of the ceremony, they filled their pipes, and each blew the smoke toward the snake, which, as it appeared to me, really received it with pleasure. In a word, after remaining coiled and receiving incense for the space of half an hour, it stretched itself along the ground in visible good

* Joutel's Journal: Historical Collections of Louisiana, vol. 1. pp. 187, 188.

† Extract from Henry's Travels, p. 150.

‡ Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, vol. 2, p. 154.

humor. The Indians followed it, and, still addressing it by the title of grandfather, beseeched it to take care of their families during their absence, and also to open the hearts of the English, that that they might fill their (the Indians') canoes with rum.* This reverence of the Indians for the rattlesnake will account for the vast number of these reptiles met with by early settlers in localities favorable for their increase and security. The clefts in the rocky cliffs below Niagara Falls were so infested with rattlesnakes that the Indians removed their village to a place of greater security.

The Indians had several games, some of which have been already noticed. McCoy mentions a singular occurrence of this nature: "A Miami Indian had been stabbed with a knife, who lingered, and of whose recovery there was doubt. On the 12th of May a party resolved to decide by a game of *moccasin* whether the man should live or die. In this game the party seat themselves upon the earth opposite to each other, while one holds a moccasin on the ground with one hand, and holds in the other a small ball; the ball he affects to conceal in the moccasin, and does either insert it or not, as he shall choose, and then leaves the opposite party to guess where the ball is. In order to deceive his antagonist, he incessantly utters a kind of a sing-song, which is repeated about thrice in a minute, and moving his hands in unison with the notes, brings one of them, at every repetition, to the mouth of the moccasin, as though he had that moment inserted the ball. One party played for the wounded man's recovery and the other for his death. Two games were played, in both of which the side for recovery was triumphant, and so they concluded the man would not die of his wounds."†

The Indians had a most excellent knowledge of the topography of their country, and they drew the most exact maps of the countries they were acquainted with. They set down the true north according to the polar star; the ports, harbors, rivers, creeks, and coasts of the lakes; roads, mountains, woods, marshes and meadows. They counted the distances by journeys and half-journeys, allowing to every journey five leagues. These maps were drawn upon birch bark.‡ "Previous to General Brock's crossing over to Detroit, he asked Tecumseh what sort of a country he should have to pass through in case of his preceding farther. *Tecumseh* took a roll of elm bark, and extending it on the ground, by means of four stones, drew forth his scalping knife, and, with the point, etched upon the

* Alexander Henry's Travels, p. 176.

† Baptist Missions, p. 98.

‡ La Hontan, vol. 2, p. 13.

bark a plan of the country, its hills, woods, rivers, morasses, a plan which, if not as neat, was fully as accurate as if it had been made by a professional map-maker.*

In marriage, they had no ceremony worth mentioning, the man and the woman agreeing that for so many bucks, beaver hides, or, in short, any valuables, she should be his wife. Of all the passions, the Indians were least influenced by love. Some authors claim that it had no existence, excepting, of course, mere lust, which is possessed by all animals. "By women, beauty was commonly no motive to marriage, the only inducement being the reward which she received. It was said that the women were purchased by the night, week, month or winter, so that they depended on fornication for a living; nor was it thought either a crime or shame, none being esteemed as prostitutes but such as were licentious without a reward."† Polygamy was common, but was seldom practiced except by the chiefs. On the smallest offense husband and wife parted, she taking the domestic utensils and the children of her sex. Children formed the only bond of affection between the two sexes; and of them, to the credit of the Indian be it said, they were very fond. They never chastised them, the only punishment being to dash, by the hand, water into the face of the refractory child. Joutel noticed this method of correction among the Illinois, and nearly a hundred years later Jones mentions the same custom as existing among the Shawnees.‡

The Algonquin tribes, differing in this respect from the southern Indians, had no especial religion. They believed in good and bad spirits, and thought it was only necessary to appease the wicked spirits, for the good ones "were all right anyway." These bad spirits were thought to occupy the bodies of animals, fishes and reptiles, to dwell in high mountains, gloomy caverns, dangerous whirlpools, and all large bodies of water. This will account for the offerings of tobacco and other valuables which they made when passing such places. No ideas of morals or metaphysics ever entered the head of the Indians; they believed what was told them upon those subjects, without having more than a vague impression of their meaning. Some of the Canadian Indians, in all sincerity, compared the Holy Trinity to a piece of pork. There they found the lean meat, the fat and the rind, three distinct parts that form

* James' Military Occurrences in the Late War Between Great Britain and the United States, vol. 1, pp. 291, 292.

* Journal of Two Visits made to Some Nations West of the Ohio, by the Rev. David Jones: Sabin's reprint, p. 75.

† Idem.

the same piece.”* Their ideas of heaven was a place full of sensual enjoyments, and free from physical pains. Indeed, it is doubtful if, before their mythology was changed by the partial adoption of some of the doctrines of Christianity, they had any idea of *spiritual* reward or punishment.

Wampum, prior to and many years subsequent to the advent of the Europeans, was the circulating medium among the North American Indians. It is made out of a marine shell, or periwinkle, some of which are white, others violet, verging toward black. They are perforated in the direction of the greater diameter, and are worked into two forms, strings and belts. The strings consist of cylinders strung without any order, one after another, on to a thread. The belts are wide sashes in which the white and purple beads are arranged in rows and tied by little leathern strings, making a very pretty tissue. Wampum belts are used in state affairs, and their length, width and color are in proportion to the importance of the affair being negotiated. They are wrought, sometimes, into figures of considerable beauty.

These belts and strings of wampum are the universal agent with the Indians, not only as money, jewelry or ornaments, but as annals and for registers to perpetuate treaties and compacts between individuals and nations. They are the inviolable and sacred pledges which guarantee messages, promises and treaties. As writing is not in use among them, they make a local memoir by means of these belts, each of which signify a particular affair or a circumstance relating to it. The village chiefs are the custodians, and communicate the affairs they perpetuate to the young people, who thus learn the history, treaties and engagements of their nation.† Belts are classified as message, road, peace or war belts. White signifies peace, as black does war. The color therefore at once indicates the intention of the person or tribe who sends or accepts a belt. So general was the importance of the belt, that the French and English, and the Americans, even down as late as the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, used it in treating with the Indians.‡

* Pouchot's Memoir, vol. 2, p. 223.

† The account given above is taken from a note of the editor of the documents relative to the Colonial History of New York, etc., vol. 9. Paris Documents, p. 556.

‡ The explanation here given will assist the reader to an understanding of the grave significance attached to the giving or receiving of belts so frequently referred to in the course of this work.

CHAPTER XIX.

STONE IMPLEMENTS.

THE stone implements illustrated in this chapter are introduced as specimens of workmanship of the comparatively modern Indians, who lived and hunted in the localities where the specimens were found. The author is aware that similar implements have been illustrated and described in works which relate to an exclusively prehistoric race. Without entering into a discussion concerning the so-called "Mound Builders," that being a subject foreign to the scope of this work, it may be stated that some theorists have placed the epoch of the "prehistoric race" quite too far within the boundaries of well-established historical mention, and have assigned to the "Mound Builders" remains and relics which were undoubtedly the handiwork of the modern American Indians.*

Indeed many of the stone implements, also much of the pottery, and many of the so-called ancient mounds and excavations as well, found throughout the west, may be accounted for without going beyond the era of the North American Indian in quest of an explanation. It is not at all intended here to question the fact of the existence of the prehistoric race, or to deny that they have left more or less of their remains, but the line of demarkation between that race

* Mr. H. N. Rust, of Chicago, in his extensive collection, has many implements similar to those attributed to prehistoric man, which he obtained from the Sioux Indians of northwestern Dakota, with whom they were in daily use. Among his samples are large stone hammers with a groove around the head, and the handles nicely attached. The round stone, with flattened sides, generally regarded as a relic of a lost race, he found at the door of the lodges of the Sioux, with the little stone hammer, hooded with rawhide, to which the handle was fastened, with which bones, nuts and other hard substances were broken by the squaws or children as occasion required. The appearance of the larger disc, and the well-worn face of the hammer, indicate their long and constant use by this people. The round, egg-shaped stone, illustrated by Fig. 9, supposed to belong to the prehistoric age, Mr. Rust found in common use among this tribe. The manner of fastening the handle is illustrated in the cuts, Figs. 9 and 36. The writer is indebted to Mr. Rust for favors conferred in the loan of implements credited to his collection, as well, also, for his valuable aid in preparing the illustrated portion of this chapter. The other implements illustrated were selected from W. C. Beckwith's collection. The Indians informed Mr. Rust that these clubs (Figs. 8 and 9) were used to kill buffalo, or other animals that had been wounded; as implements of offense and defense in personal encounters; as a walking-stick (the stone being used as a handle) by the dandies of the tribe; and they were carried as a mace or badge of authority in the rites and ceremonies of the societies established among these Indians, which were similar in some respects to our fraternities.

and the modern Indian cannot be traced with satisfaction until after large collections of the remains of both races shall have been secured and critically compared under all the light which a careful examination of historical records will shed upon this new and interesting field of inquiry.

Stone implements are by no means peculiar to North America; they have been found all over the inhabitable world. Europe is especially prolific in such remains. While the material of which they are made varies according to the geological resources of the several countries in which they are found, there is a striking similarity in the shape, size and form of them all. At the present time like implements are in use among some of the South Sea Islanders, and by a few tribes of North American Indians living in remote sections, and enjoying but a limited intercourse with the enlightened world.

The *stone age* marks an important epoch in the progress of races of men from the early stages of their existence toward a higher civilization. After they had passed the stone age, and learned how to manipulate iron and other metals, their advance, as a general rule, has been more rapid.

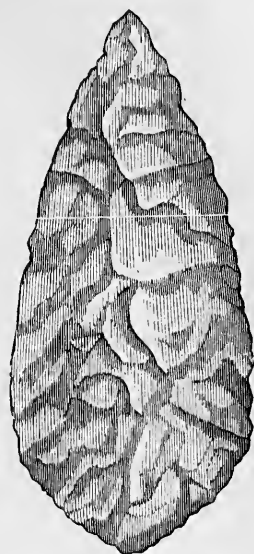
The implements here illustrated are specimens of some of the more prominent types of the vast number which have been found throughout the valleys of the Maumee, Wabash and Illinois Rivers, and the sections of country drained by their tributaries. They are picked up about the sites of old Indian villages, in localities where game was pursued, on the hillsides and in the ravines where they have become exposed by the rains, and in the furrows turned up by the plowshare. They are the remains of the early occupants of the territory we have described,—testimonials alike of their necessities and their ingenuity, and were used by them until an acquaintance with the Europeans supplied them with weapons and utensils formed out of metals.*

It will be observed from extracts found in the preceding chapter that our Indians made and used implements of copper and stone, manufactured pottery, some of which was glazed, wove cloth of fiber and also of wool, erected fortifications of wooden palisades, or of palisades and earth combined, to protect their villages from their enemies, excavated holes in the ground, which were used for defen-

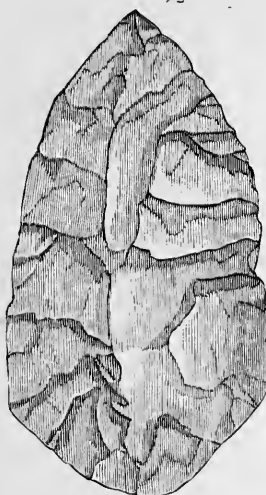
* It may be well to state in this connection that the implements illustrated in this work, except the handled club, Figs. 9 and 36, were not found in mounds or in their vicinity, but were gathered upon or in the immediate neighborhood of places known to the early settlers as the sites of Piankeshaw, Miami, Pottawatomie and Kickapoo villages, and in the same localities where have been found red-stone pipes of Indian make, knives, hatchets, gun-barrels, buckles, flints for old-fashioned fusees, brooches, wristbands, kettles, and other articles of European manufacture.

sive purposes, and erected mounds of earth, some of which were used for religious rites, and others as depositories for their dead. All these facts are well attested by early Spanish, French and American authors, who have recorded their observations while passing through the country. We have also seen in previous chapters that our "red men" cultivated corn and other products of the soil, and were as much an *agricultural* people as is claimed for the "Mound Builders."

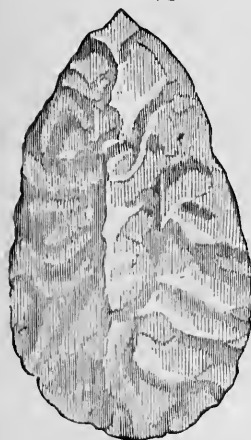
The specimens marked Figs. 1, 2 and 3 are samples of a lot of one hundred and sixteen pieces, found in 1878 in a "pocket" on Wm. Pogue's farm, a few miles southeast of Rossville, Vermilion

FIG. 3= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

FIG. 2= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

FIG. 1= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

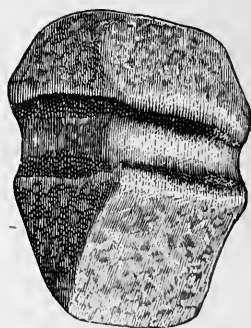
county, Illinois. Mr. Pogue had cleared off a piece of ground formerly prairie, on which a growth of jack oak trees and underbrush had encroached since the early settlement of the county. This land had never been cultivated, and as it was being broken up, the plow-share ran into the "nest," and turned the implements to view. They were closely packed together, and buried about eight inches below the natural surface of the ground, which was level with the other parts of the field, and had no appearance of a mound, excavation, or any other artificial disturbance. Two of the implements, judging from their eroded fractures, were broken at the time they

were deposited, and one other was broken in two by the plow. The material of which they are composed is white chert. The samples illustrated are taken as an average, in size and shape, of the whole lot, the largest of which is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide by 7 inches long, and the smallest 2 inches wide by nearly 4 inches in length. Some of them are nearly oval, others long and pointed at both ends, in others the "shoulders" are well defined, while, for the most part, they are broadly rounded at one end and pointed at the other. They are all in the rough, and no finished implement was found with or near them. Indeed the whole lot are apparently in an unfinished condition. With very little dressing they could be fashioned into perfect implements, such as the "fleshers," "scrapers," "knives," "spear" and "arrow" heads described farther on. There are no quarries or deposits of flint of the kind known to exist within many miles of the locality where these implements were found. We can only conjecture the uses for which they were designed. We can imagine the owner to have been a merchant or trader, who had dressed them down or procured them at the quarries in this condition, so they would be lighter to carry to the tribes on the prairies, where they could be perfected to suit the taste of the purchaser. We might further imagine that the implement merchant, threatened with some approaching danger, hid them where they were afterward found, and never returned. The eroded appearance of many of the "find" bear witness that the lot were buried a great many years ago.*

Fig. 4 is an axe and hammer combined. The material is a fine-grained granite. The handle is attached with thongs of rawhide passed around the groove, or with a split stick or forked branch wythed around, and either kind of fastening could be tightened by driving a wedge between the attachment and the surface of the implement, which on the back is slightly concaved to hold the wedge in place.

Figs. 5, 6 and 7 are also axes; material, dark granite. Heretofore it has been the popular opinion that these instruments are "fleshers," and were used in skinning animals, cutting up the flesh,

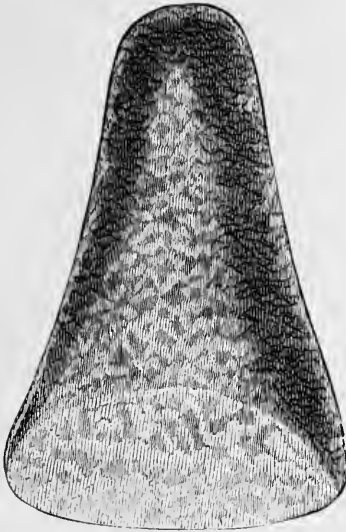
FIG. 4= $\frac{1}{2}$.



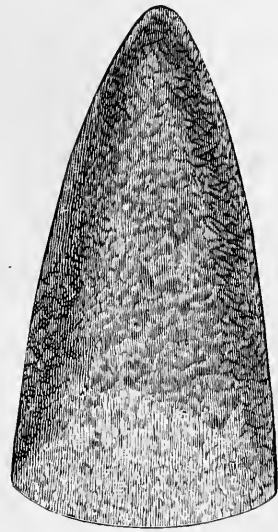
Vermilion county, Ill.

*The writer has divided the "lot," sending samples to the Historical Societies of Wisconsin and Chicago, and placed others in the collections of H. N. Rust, of Chicago; Prof. John Collett, of Indianapolis; Prof. A. H. Worthen, Springfield, Illinois; Josephus Collett, of Terre Haute, while the others remain in the collection of W. C. Beckwith, at Danville, Illinois.

and for scraping hides when preparing them for tanning. The recent discoveries of remains of the ancient "Lake Dwellers," of Switzerland, have resulted in finding similar implements attached to handles, making them a very formidable battle-axe.

FIG. 5= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

FIG. 6= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion co., Ill. (H. N. Rust's Collection.)

From the implements obtained by Mr. Rust of the Sioux it can readily be seen how implements like Fig. 6, although tapering from the bit to the top, could be attached to handles by means of a rawhide band. Before fastening on the handle the rawhide would be soaked in water, and on drying would tighten to the roughened surface of the stone with a secure grip. A blow given with the cutting edge of this implement would tend to wedge it the more firmly into the handle.*

* In the Fifth Annual Report of the Regents of the University of New York (Albany, 1852, page 105), Mr. L. H. Morgan illustrates the *ga-ne-a-ga-o-dus-ha*, or war club, used by "the Iroquois at the period of their discovery." The helve is a crooked piece of wood, with a chisel-shaped bit formed out of deer's horn—shaped like Fig. No. 7, on the next page—inserted at the elbow, near the larger end; and in many respects it resembles the clubs illustrated in Plate X, vol. 2, of Dr. Keller's work on the "Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and other parts of Europe." Mr. Morgan remarks that "in later times a piece of steel was substituted for the deer horn, thus making it a more deadly weapon than formerly." There is little doubt that the Indians used such implements as Figs. 5, 6 and 7 for splitting wood and various other purposes. The fact of their being used for splitting wood was mentioned by Father Charlevoix over a hundred and fifty years ago, as appears from extracts on page 181 of this book, quoted from his Narrative Journal.

Fig. 7 is another style of axe. The material out of which it is composed is greenstone, admitting of a fine polish. There would be no difficulty at all in shrinking a rawhide band to its surface, and the somewhat polished condition of its sides above the "bit" would indicate a long application of this kind of a fastening. It could also be used as a chisel in excavating the charred surface of wood that was being fashioned into canoes, mortars for cracking corn, or in the construction of other domestic utensils.

Fig. 8 is a club or hammer, or both. Its material is dark quartz. Some varieties of this implement have a groove cut around the center, like Fig. 9. The manner of handling it involves the use of rawhide, and, with some, is performed substantially in the same manner as in Figs. 5, 6 and 7, except that the band of rawhide is broader, and extends some distance on either side of the lesser diameter

FIG. 7= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

FIG. 8= $\frac{1}{2}$.Vermilion county, Ill.
(H. N. Rust's Collection.)

FIG. 36.



Dakota.

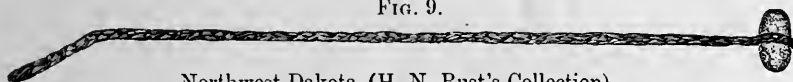
(H. N. Rust's Collection.)

of the stone. In other instances they are secured in a hood of rawhide that envelops nearly the whole implement, leaving the point or one end of the stone slightly exposed, as in Fig. 36.*

*Mr. Rust has in his collection a number of such implements, some of them weighing several pounds, which, along with the ones illustrated, were obtained by him from the Sioux of northwest Dakota, and which are "hooded" in the manner here described. Mr. Wm. Gurley, of Danville, Illinois, while in southwestern Colorado in 1876, saw many such clubs in use by the Ute Indians. They were entirely encased in rawhide, having short handles. The handles were encased in the rawhide that extended continuously, enveloping both the handle and the stone. The Utes used these implements as hammers in crushing corn, etc., the rawhide covering of some being worn through from long use, and exposing the stone.

Fig. 9 was obtained from the Sioux by Mr. Rust. The stone is composed of semi-transparent quartz. Its uses have already been described.

FIG. 9.



Northwest Dakota (H. N. Rust's Collection).

Figs. 10 and 11 were probably used as spear-heads, they are certainly too large for arrow-heads, and too thick and roundish

FIG. 10= $\frac{1}{2}$.



Vermilion county, Ill.

to answer the purpose of knives. The material is white chert. The edges of both these implements are spiral, the "wind" of the opposite edges being quite uniform. Whether this was owing to the design of the maker or the twist in the grain of the chert, from which they are made, is a conjecture at best.

FIG. 11= $\frac{1}{2}$.



Vermilion county, Ill.

FIG. 12= $\frac{1}{2}$.



Vermilion county, Ill.

Fig. 12 was probably a spear or knife. The material is dark flint. A piece of quartz is impacted in the upper half of the blade, the chipping through of which displays the skill of the person who made

it. The shoulders of the implement are unequal, and the angle of its edges are not uniform. It is flatter upon one side than upon the other. These irregularities would throw it out of balance, and seemingly preclude its use as an arrow, while its strong shank and deep yokes above the shoulder would admit of its being firmly secured to a handle.

Fig. 13 was probably intended for an arrow-head, and thrown aside because of a flaw on the surface opposite that shown in the cut.

It is introduced to illustrate the manner in which the work progresses in making such implements. From an examination it would appear that the outline of the implement is first made. After this, one side is reduced to the required form. Then work on the opposite side begins, the point and edges being first reduced. The flakes are chipped off from the edges *upward* toward the center of and *against* the part of the stone to be cut away. In this manner the delicate point and completed edges are preserved while the implement is being perfected, leaving the shoulders, neck and shank the last to be finished.

Fig. 14 is formed out of dark-colored, hard, fine-grained flint. Its edges are a uniform spiral, making nearly a half-turn from shoulder

FIG. 13= $\frac{1}{2}$.Vermilion
co., Ill.FIG. 14= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

FIG. 15= $\frac{1}{2}$.Vermilion county, Ill.
(H. N. Rust's Collection.)FIG. 16= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

to point. It is neatly balanced, and if used as an arrow-head its wind or twist would, without doubt, give a rotary motion to the shaft in its flight. It is very ingeniously made, and its delicately chipped surface shows that the man who made the implement intentionally gave it the peculiar shape it possesses.

Fig. 15 is made out of fine-grained blue flint. It is unusually long in proportion to its breadth. Its edges are neatly beveled from a line along its center, and are quite sharp. Its well defined shoulders and head, with the yoke deeply cut between to hold the thong, would indicate its use as an arrow-point.

Fig. 16 is a perfect implement, and its surfaces are smoother than the observer might infer from the illustration. Its edges are very sharp and smooth and parallel to the axis of the implement. Its head, unlike that of the other implements illustrated, is round and pointed, with cutting edges as carefully formed as any part of the blade. It has no yoked neck in which to bury a thong or thread, and there seems to be no way of fastening it into a shaft or handle. It may be a perfect instrument without the addition of either. It is made out of blue flint.

ARROW HEADS.

Several different forms of implements (commonly recognized as arrow heads) are illustrated, to show some of the more common of the many varieties found everywhere over the country. Fig. 17 has uniformly slanting edges, sharp barbs and a strong shank. The material from which it is made is white chert. For shooting fish or in pursuing game or an enemy, where it was intended that the implement could not be easily withdrawn from the flesh in which it might be driven, the prominent barbs would secure a firm hold.

Fig. 18 is composed of blue flint; its outline is more rounded than the preceding specimen, while a spiral form is given to its delicate and sharp point.

FIG. 17= $\frac{1}{2}$.Vermilion county,
Ill.FIG. 18= $\frac{1}{2}$.Vermilion
county, Ill.FIG. 19= $\frac{1}{2}$.Vermilion county,
Ill.FIG. 20= $\frac{1}{2}$.Vermilion
county, Ill.

Fig. 19 is composed of white chert. Its surface is much smoother than the shadings in the cut would imply. Its shape is very much like a shield. Its barbs are prominent, and the instrument would make a wide incision in the body of an animal into which it might be forced.

Fig. 20, like Fig. 17, has sharp and elongated barbs. It is fashioned out of white chert, and is a neat, smooth and well-balanced implement.

Fig. 21 is made from yellowish-brown quartz, semi-transparent and inclined to be impure. The surfaces are oval from edge to edge, while the edges themselves are beautifully serrated or notched, as is shown in the cut. It is, perhaps, a sample of the finest workmanship illustrated in this chapter. Indeed, among the many collections which the writer has had opportunities to examine, he has never seen a specimen that was more skillfully made.

FIG. 21= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion
county, Ill.

Fig. 22 may be an arrow-point or a reamer. The material is white chert. Between the stem and the notches the implement is quite thick, tapering gradually back to the head, giving great support to this part of the implement.

Fig. 23 is an arrow-point, or would be so regarded. Its stem is roundish, and has a greater diameter than the cut would indicate to the eye. The material from which it is formed is white chert.

FIG. 22= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion co., Ill.

FIG. 23= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion co., Ill.

FIG. 24= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion co., Ill.

FIG. 25= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion co., Ill.

Figs. 24 and 25 are specimens of the smaller variety of "points" with which arrows are tipped that are used in killing small game. Fig. 24 is made out of black "trap-rock," and Fig. 25 out of flesh-colored flint.

Fig. 26 is displayed on account of its peculiar form; the under surface is nearly flat, and the other side has quite a ridge or spine running the entire length from head to point. Besides this the head

FIG. 26= $\frac{1}{2}$.

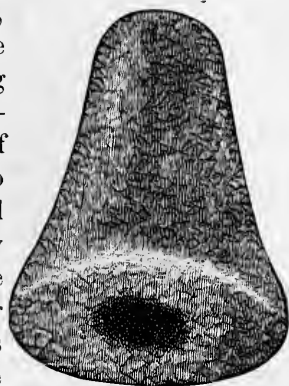
Vermilion county, Ill.

and point turn upward, giving a uniform curve to the implement. If used as an arrow-point, the shaft, in consequence of the shape of the stone, would describe a curved line when shot from the bow. It is made of white flint. No suggestions

are offered as to its probable uses.

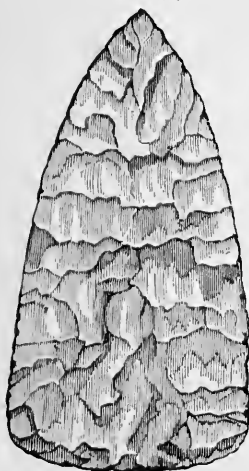
IMPLEMENTS FOR DOMESTIC USES.

Fig. 27 is a pestle or pounder. It is made out of common granite. There are many different styles of this implement, some varieties are more conical, while others are more bell-shaped than the one illustrated. They are used for crushing corn and other like purposes. The one illustrated has a concave place near the center of the base; this would the better adapt it to cracking nuts, as the hollow space would protect the kernel from being too severely crushed. In connection with this stone, the Indians sometimes used mortars, made either of wood or stone, into which the articles to be pulverized could be placed; or the corn or beans could be done up in the folds of a skin, or inclosed in a leathern bag, and then crushed by blows struck with either the head or rim of the pestle. The stone mortars were usually flat discs, slightly hollowed out from the edges toward the center.

FIG. 27 = $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Illinois.
(H. N. Rust's collection.)

Fig. 28 may be designated as a fleshier or scraper. The specimen

FIG. 28 = $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

illustrated is made of white flint. It is very thin, considering the breadth and length of the implement, and has sharp cutting edges all the way around. It might be used as a knife, as well as for a variety of other purposes. It is an unusually smooth and highly finished tool. It and its mate, which is considerably broader, and proportioned more like Fig. 29, were found sticking perpendicular in the ground, with their points barely exposed above the surface, on the farm of Wm. Foster, a few miles east of Danville, Illinois. Both of them will make as clean a cut through several folds of paper as the

FIG. 29 = $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion co., Ill.

blade of a good pocket-knife.

Fig. 29 is composed of an impure purplish flint. It is very much like Fig. 28, and was probably used for similar purposes.

FIG. 30= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

Fig. 30, as the illustration shows, is rougher-edged than the two preceding ones. The side opposite the one shown has a more uneven surface than the other. A smooth, well-defined groove runs across the implement (as shown by the dark shading) as though it were intended to be fastened to a helve, although the groove would afford good support for the thumb, if the implement were used only with the hand.

The material is a coarse, impure, grayish flint.

Fig. 31 might be said to combine the qualities of a knife, gimlet and bodkin. Its cutting edges extend all

FIG. 31= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

around, and along the stem the edges are quite abrupt. The implement was originally much longer, but it appears to have lost about an inch in length, its point having been broken off. The blade will cut cloth or paper very readily. The material is white flint.

Fig. 32 may be classed with Fig. 31. The material is dark fine-grained flint, and the implement perfect. There is a perceptible wind to the edges of the stem, while the edges of the head are parallel with the plane of the implement, and so sharp that they will cut cloth, leather or paper. It was probably used to bore holes and cut out skins that were being manufactured into clothing and other articles.

FIG. 32= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

FIG. 33= $\frac{1}{2}$.

Vermilion county, Ill.

Fig. 33 may have been made for the same uses as Figs. 31 and 32. The blade is shaped like a spade, the stem representing the handle. It tapers from the bit of the blade where the stem joins the shoulder, which is the thickest part of the implement, and from the shoulder it tapers to both ends. The bit is shaped like a gonge, and makes a circular incision. It is a smooth piece of workmanship, made out of white flint.

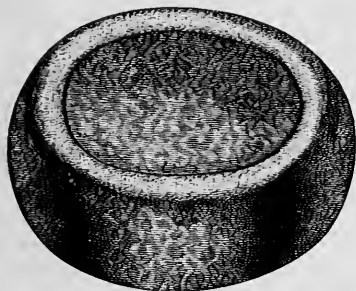
Fig. 34 has been designated as a "rimmer." The material of which it is made is flesh-colored flint. The stem is nearly round, and the implement could be used for piercing holes in leather or wood. Another use attributed to it is for drilling holes in pipes, gorgets, discs and other implements formed out of stone where the material was soft enough to admit of being perforated in this way.



Fig. 34=1/2.
Vermilion county, Ill.

Fig. 35. By common consent this implement has received the name of "discoidal stone." The one illus-

Fig. 35=1/2.



Vermilion county, Ill. (H. N. Rust's Collection.)

trated is composed of fine dark-gray granite. Several theories have been offered as to the uses of this implement,—one that they are quoits used by the Indians in playing a game similar to that of "pitching horse-shoes"; that they were employed in another game resembling "ten-pins," in which the stone would be grasped on its concave side by the thumb and second finger, while the fore-finger rested on the outer edge, or rim, and

that by a peculiar motion of the arm in hurling the stone it would describe a convolute figure as it rolled along upon the ground. We may suggest that implements like this might be used as paint cups, as their convex surface would enable the warrior to grind his pigments and reduce them to powder, preparatory to decorating his person.

The implements illustrated were, no doubt, put to many other uses besides those suggested. As the pioneer would make his house, furniture, plow, ox yokes, and clear his land with his axe, so the Indians, in the poverty of their supply, we may assume, were compelled to make a single tool serve as many purposes as their ingenuity could devise.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WAR FOR THE FUR TRADE.

FORMERLY the great Northwest abounded in game and water-fowl. The small lakes and lesser water-courses were full of beaver, otter and muskrats. In the forests were found the marten, the raccoon, and other fur-bearing animals. The plains, partially submerged, and the rivers, whose current had a sluggish flow, the shallow lakes, producing annual crops of wild rice, of nature's own sowing, teemed with wild geese, duck and other aquatic fowl bursting in their very fatness.*

The turkey, in his glossy feathers, strutted the forests, some of them being of prodigious size, weighing thirty-six pounds.†

The shy deer and the lordly elk, crowned with outspreading horns, grazed upon the plain and in the open woods, while the solitary moose browsed upon the buds in the thick copsewood that gave him food and a hiding place as well. The fleet-footed antelope nibbled at the tender grasses on the prairies, or bounded away over the ridges to hide in the valleys beyond, from the approach of the stealthy wolf or wily Indian. The belts of timber along the water-courses

* "The plains and prairies (referring to the country on either side of the Illinois River) are all covered with buffaloes, roebucks, hinds, stags, and different kind of fallow deer. The feathered game is also here in the greatest abundance. We find, particularly, quantities of swan, geese and ducks. The wild oats, which grow naturally on the plains, fatten them to such a degree that they often die from being smothered in their own grease."—Father Marest's letter, written in 1712. We have already seen, from a description given on page 103, that water-fowl were equally abundant upon the Maumee.

† In a letter of Father Rasles, dated October 12, 1723, there is a fine description of the game found in the Illinois country. It reads: "Of all the nations of Canada, there are none who live in so great abundance of everything as the Illinois. Their rivers are covered with swans, bustards, ducks and teals. One can scarcely travel a league without finding a prodigious multitude of turkeys, who keep together in flocks, often to the number of two hundred. They are much larger than those we see in France. I had the curiosity to weigh one, which I found to be thirty-six pounds. They have hanging from the neck a kind of tuft of hair half a foot in length.

"Bears and stags are found there in very great numbers, and buffaloes and roebucks are also seen in vast herds. Not a year passes but they (the Indians) kill more than a thousand roebucks and more than two thousand buffaloes. From four to five thousand of the latter can often be seen at one view grazing on the prairies. They have a hump on the back and an exceedingly large head. The hair, except that on the head, is curled and soft as wool. The flesh has naturally a salt taste, and is so light that, although eaten entirely raw, it does not cause the least indigestion. When they have killed a buffalo, which appears to them too lean, they content themselves with taking the tongue, and going in search of one which is fatter." *Vide* Kip's Jesuit Missions, pp. 38, 39.

afforded lodgment for the bear, and were the trellises that supported the tangled wild grapevines, the fruit of which, to this animal, was an article of food. The bear had for his neighbor the panther, the wild cat and the lynx, whose carnivorous appetites were appeased in the destruction of other animals.



Immense herds of buffalo roamed over the extensive area bounded on the east by the Alleghanies and on the north by the lakes, embracing the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and the southern half of Michigan. Their trails checkered the prairies of Indiana and Illinois in every direction, the marks of which, deep worn in the turf, remained for many years after the disappearance of the animals that made them.* Their numbers when the country was first known to Europeans were immense, and beyond computation. In their migrations southward in the fall, and on their return from the blue-grass regions of Kentucky in the spring, the Ohio River was obstructed for miles during the time occupied by the vast herds in crossing it. Indeed, the French called the buffalo the "Illinois ox," on account of their numbers found in "the country of the Illinois," using that expression in its wider sense, as explained on a preceding page. So great importance was attached to the supposed commercial value of the buffalo for its wool that when Mons. Iberville, in 1698, was engaged to undertake the colonization of Louisiana, the king instructed him to look after the buffalo wool as one of the most important of his duties; and Father Charlevoix, while traveling through "The Illinois," observed that he was surprised that the buffalo had been so long neglected.† Among the favorite haunts of the buffalo were the marshes of the Upper Kankakee, the low lands about the lakes of northern Indiana, where the oozy soil furnished early as well as late pasturage, the briny earth upon the Au Glaize, and the Salt Licks upon the Wabash and Illinois rivers were tempting places of resort. From the summit of the high hill at Ouiatanon, overlooking the Wea plains to the east and the Grand Prairie to the west,

* "Nothing," says Father Charlevoix, writing of the country about the confluence of the Fox with the Illinois River, "is to be seen in this course but immense prairies, interspersed with small groves which seem to have been planted by the hands of men. The grass is so very high that a man would be almost lost in it, and through which paths are to be found everywhere, *as well trodden* as they could have been in the most populated countries, although nothing passes over them but buffaloes, and from time to time a herd of deer or a few roebuck": Charlevoix' Narrative Journal, vol. 2, p. 200.

† Brackenridge's Views of Louisiana.

as far as the eye could reach in either direction, the plains were seen covered with groups, grazing together, or, in long files, stretching away in the distance, their dark forms, contrasting with the green-sward upon which they fed or strolled, and inspiring the enthusiasm of the Frenchman, who gave the description quoted on page 104. Still later, when passing through the prairies of Illinois, on his way from Vincennes to Oniatanon,—more a prisoner than an ambassador,—George Croghan makes the following entry in his daily journal: “18th and 19th of June, 1765.—We traveled through a prodigious large meadow, called the Pyankeshaws’ hunting ground. Here is no wood to be seen, and the country appears like an ocean. The ground is exceedingly rich and partially overgrown with wild hemp.* The land is well watered *and full of buffalo*, deer, bears, and all kinds of wild game. 20th and 21st.—We passed through some very large meadows, part of which belonged to the Pyankeshaws on the Vermilion River. The country and soil were much the same as that we traveled over for these three days past. Wild hemp grows here in abundance. The game is very plenty. At any time in a half hour we could kill as much as we wanted.”†

Gen. Clark, in the postscript of his letter dated November, 1779, narrating his campaign in the Illinois country, says, concerning the prairies between Kaskaskia and Vincennes, that “there are large meadows extending beyond the reach of the eye, variegated with groves of trees appearing like islands in the seas, covered with buffaloes and other game. In many places, with a good glass, you may see all that are upon their feet in a half million acres.”‡ It is not known at what time the buffalo was last seen east of the Mississippi. The Indians had a tradition that the cold winter of 17—, —called by them “the *great cold*,” on account of its severity,—destroyed them. “The snow was so deep, and lay upon the ground for such a length of time, that the buffalo became poor and too weak to resist the inclemency of the weather;” great numbers of them perished, singly and in groups, and their bones, either as isolated skeletons or in bleaching piles, remained and were found over the country for many years afterwards.§

* Further on in his Journal Col. Croghan again refers to “wild hemp, growing in the prairies, ten or twelve feet high, which if properly cultivated would prove as good and answer all the purposes of the hemp we cultivate.” Other writers also mention the wild hemp upon the prairies, and it seems to have been supplanted by other grasses that have followed in the changes of vegetable growth.

† Croghan’s Journal.

‡ Clark’s Campaign in the Illinois, p. 92.

§ On the 4th of October, 1786, one day’s march on the road from Vincennes to the Ohio Falls, Captains Zigler’s and Strong’s companies of regulars came across five buffalo. The animals tried to force a passage through the column, when the commanding officer

Before the coming of the Europeans the Indians hunted the game for the purpose of supplying themselves with the necessary food and clothing. The scattered tribes (whose numbers early writers greatly exaggerated) were few, when compared with the area of the country they occupied, and the wild animals were so abundant that enough to supply their wants could be captured near at hand with such rude weapons as their ingenuity fashioned out of wood and stone. With the Europeans came a change. The fur of many of the animals possessed a commercial value in the marts of Europe, where they were bought and used as ornaments and dress by the aristocracy, whose wealth and taste fashioned them into garments of extraordinary richness. Canada was originally settled with a view to the fur trade, and this trade was, to her people, of the first importance — the chief motor of her growth and prosperity. The Indians were supplied with guns, knives and hatchets by the Europeans, in place of their former inferior weapons. Thus encouraged and equipped, and accompanied by the *coureur des bois*, the remotest regions were penetrated, and the fur trade extended to the most distant tribes. Stimulated with a desire for blankets, cotton goods and trinkets, the Indians now began a war upon the wild animals in earnest; and their wanton destruction for their skins and furs alone from that period forward was so enormous that within the next two or three generations the improvident Indians in many localities could scarcely find enough game for their own subsistence.

The *coureur des bois* were a class that had much to do with the development of trade and with giving a knowledge of the geography of the country. They became extremely useful to the merchants engaged in the fur trade, and were often a source of great annoyance to the colonial authorities. Three or four of these people, having obtained goods upon credit, would join their stock, put their property into a birch bark canoe, which they worked themselves, and accompany the Indians in their excursions or go directly

ordered the men to fire upon them. The discharge killed three and wounded the others: Joseph Buell's Narrative Journal, published in S. P. Hildreth's Pioneer History. Thirteen years later, in December, 1799, Gov. St. Clair and Judge Jacob Burnett, on their way overland from Cincinnati to Vincennes, camped out over night, at the close of one of their days' journeys, not a great ways east of where the old road from Louisville to Vincennes crosses White River. The next day they encountered a severe snow-storm, during which they surprised eight or ten buffalo, sheltering themselves from the storm behind a beech-tree full of dead leaves which had fallen beside of the *trace* and hid the travelers from their view. The tree and the noise of the wind among its leaves prevented the buffalo from discovering the parties until the latter had approached within two rods of the place where they stood. They then took to their heels and were soon out of sight. One of the company drew a pistol and fired, but without effect: Burnett's Notes on the Northwest Territory, p. 73.

into the country where they knew they were to hunt.* These voyages were extended twelve or fifteen months (sometimes longer) before the traders would return laden with rich cargoes of fur, and often followed by great numbers of the natives. During the short time required to settle their accounts with the merchants and procure credit for a new stock, the traders would contrive to squander their gains before they returned to their favorite mode of life among the savages, their labor being rewarded by indulging themselves in one month's dissipation for fifteen of exposure and hardship. "We may not be able to explain the cause, but experience proves that it requires much less time for a civilized people to degenerate into the ways of savage life than is required for the savage to rise into a state of civilization. The indifference about amassing property, and the pleasure of living free from all restraint, soon introduced a licentiousness among the *coureur des bois* that did not escape the eye of the missionaries, who complained, with good reason, that they were a disgrace to the Christian religion."†

"The food of the *coureur des bois* when on their long expeditions was Indian corn, prepared for use by boiling it in strong lye to remove the hull, after which it was mashed and dried. In this state it is soft and friable like rice. The allowance for each man on the voyage, was one quart per day; and a bushel, with two pounds of prepared fat, is reckoned a month's subsistence. No other allowance is made of any kind, not even of salt, and bread is never thought of; nevertheless the men are healthy on this diet, and capable of performing great labor. This mode of victualing was essential to the trade, which was extended to great distances, and in canoes so small as not to admit of the use of any other food. If the men were supplied with bread and pork, the canoes would not carry six months' rations, while the ordinary duration of the voyage was not less than fourteen. No other men would be reconciled to such fare except the Canadians, and this fact enabled their employers to secure a monopoly of the fur trade."‡

"The old *voyageurs* derisively called new hands at the business *mangeurs de lard* (pork eaters), as, on leaving Montreal, and while en route to Mackinaw, their rations were pork, hard bread and pea

* The merchandise was neatly tied into bundles weighing sixty or seventy pounds; the furs received in exchange were compressed into packets of about the same weight, so that they could be conveniently carried, strapped upon the back of the *voyageur*, around the portages and other places where the loaded canoes could effect no passage.

† Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages*, etc., and *An Account of the Fur Trade*, etc.

‡ Henry's *Travels*, p. 52.

soup, while the old *voyageurs* in the Indian country ate corn soup and such other food as could be conveniently procured.”*

“The *coureur des bois* were men of easy virtue. They would eat, riot, drink and play as long as their furs held out,” says La Hontan, “and when these were gone they would sell their embroidery, their laces and their clothes. The proceeds of these exhausted, they were forced to go upon new voyages for subsistence.”†

They did not scruple to intermarry with the Indians, among whom they spent the greater part of their lives. They made excellent soldiers, and in bush fighting and border warfare they were more than a match for the British regulars. “Their merits were hardihood and skill in woodcraft; their chief faults were insubordination and lawlessness.”‡

Such were the characteristics of the French traders or *coureur des bois*. They penetrated the remotest parts, voyaged upon all of our western rivers, and traveled many of the insignificant streams that afforded hardly water enough to float a canoe. Their influence over the Indians (to whose mode of life they readily adapted themselves) was almost supreme. They were efficient in the service of their king, and materially assisted in staying the downfall of French rule in America.

There is no data from which to ascertain the value of the fur trade, as there were no regular accounts kept. The value of the trade to the French, in 1703, was estimated at two millions of livres, and this could have been from only a partial return, as a large per cent of the trade was carried on clandestinely through Albany and New York, of which the French authorities in Canada could have no knowledge. With the loss of Canada, and the west to France, and owing to the dislike of the Indians toward the English, and the want of experience by the latter, the fur trade, controlled at Montreal, fell into decay, and the Hudson Bay Company secured the advantages of its downfall. During the winter of 1783-4 some merchants

* Vol. 2 Wisconsin Historical Collection, p. 110. Judge Lockwood gives a very fine sketch of the *coureur des bois* and the manner of their employment, in the paper from which we have quoted.

† La Hontan, vol. 1, pp. 20 and 21.

‡ Parkman's Count Frontenac and New France, p. 209. Judge Lockwood, in the paper referred to, speaking of the *coureur des bois* as their relations existed to the fur trade in 1817, thus describes them: “These men engaged in Canada, generally for five years, for Mackinaw and its dependencies, transferrable like cattle, to any one who wanted them, at generally about 500 livres a year, or, in our currency, about \$83.33, furnished with a yearly equipment or outfit of two cotton shirts, one three-point or triangular blanket, a portage collar and one pair of shoes. They were obliged to purchase their moccasins, tobacco and pipes at any price the trader saw fit to charge for them. At the end of five years the *voyageurs* were in debt from \$50 to \$150, and could not leave the country until they paid their indebtedness.”

of Canada united their trade under the name of the "Northwest Company"; they did not get successfully to work until 1787. During that year the venture did not exceed forty thousand pounds, but by exertion and the enterprise of the proprietors it was brought, in eleven years, to more than triple that amount (equal to six hundred thousand dollars), yielding proportionate profits, and surpassing anything then known in America.*

The fur trade was conducted by the English, and subsequently by the Americans, substantially upon the system originally established by the French, with this distinction, that the monopoly was controlled by French officers and favorites, to whom the trade for particular districts was assigned, while the English and Americans controlled it through companies operating either under charters or permits from the government.

Goods for Indian trade were guns, ammunition, steel for striking fire, gun-flints, and other supplies to repair fire-arms; knives, hatchets, kettles, beads, men's shirts, blue and red cloths for blankets and petticoats: vermilion, red, yellow, green and blue ribbons, generally of English manufacture; needles, thread and awls; looking-glasses, children's toys, woolen blankets, razors for shaving the head, paints of all colors, tobacco, and, more than all, *spirituous liquors*. For these articles the Indians gave in exchange the skins of deer, bear, otter, squirrel, marten, lynx, fox, wolf, buffalo, moose, and particularly the beaver, the highest prized of them all. Such was the value attached to the skins and fur of the last that it became the standard of value. All other values were measured by the beaver, the same as we now use gold, in adjusting commercial transactions. All differences in exchanges of property or in payment for labor were first reduced in value to the beaver skin. Money was rarely received or paid at any of the trading-posts, the only circulating medium were furs and peltries. In this exchange a pound of beaver skin was reckoned at thirty *sous*, an otter skin at six *livres*, and marten skins at thirty *sous* each. This was only about half of the real value of the furs, and it was therefore always agreed to pay either in furs at their equivalent cash value at the fort or double the amount reckoned at current fur value.†

When the French controlled the fur trade, the posts in the interior of the country were assigned to officers who were in favor at headquarters. As they had no money, the merchants of Quebec and Montreal supplied them on credit with the necessary goods, which

* Mackenzie's Voyages, Fur Trade, etc.

† Henry's Travels and Pouchot's Memoirs.

were to be paid for in peltries at a price agreed upon, thus being required to earn profits for themselves and the merchant. These officers were often employed to negotiate for the king with the tribes near their trading-posts and give them goods as presents, the price for the latter being paid by the intendant upon the approval of the governor. This occasioned many hypothecated accounts, which were turned to the profit of the commandants, particularly in time of war. The commandants as well as private traders were obliged to take out a license from the governor at a cost of four or five hundred *livres*, in order to carry their goods to the posts, and to charge some effects to the king's account. The most distant posts in the north-west were prized the greatest, because of the abundance and low price of peltries and the high price of goods at these remote establishments.

Another kind of trade was carried on by the *coureurs des bois*, who, sharing the license with the officer at the post, with their canoes laden with goods, went to the villages of the Indians, and followed them on their hunting expeditions, to return after a season's trading with their canoes well loaded. If the *coureurs des bois* were in a condition to purchase their goods of first hands a quick fortune was assured them, although to obtain it they had to lead a most dangerous and fatiguing life. Some of these traders would return to France after a few years' venture with wealth amounting to two million five hundred thousand *livres*.*

The French were not permitted to exclusively enjoy the enormous profits of the fur trade. We have seen, in treating of the Miami Indians, that at an early day the English and the American colonists were determined to share it, and had become sharp competitors. We have seen (page 112) that to extend their trade the English had set their allies, the Iroquois, upon the Illinois. So formidable were the inroads made by the English upon the fur trade of the French, by means of the conquests to which they had incited the Iroquois to gain over other tribes that were friendly to the French, that the latter became "of the opinion that if the Iroquois were allowed to proceed they would not only subdue the Illinois, but become masters of all the Ottawa tribes,† and divert the trade to the English, so that it was absolutely necessary that the French should either make the Iroquois *their friends or destroy them*.‡ You perceive, my Lord,

* Pouchot's Memoirs.

† Whose territories embraced all the country west of Lake Huron and north of Illinois,—one of the most prolific beaver grounds in the country.

‡ Memoir of M. Du Chesneau, the Intendant, to the King, September 9, 1681, before quoted.

that the subject which we have discussed [referring to the efforts of the English of New York and Albany to gain the beaver trade] is to determine who will be *master* of the *beaver trade* of the south and southwest."*

In the struggle to determine who should be masters of the fur trade, the French cared as little,—perhaps less,—for their Indian allies than the British and Americans did for theirs. The blood that was shed in the English and French colonies north of the Ohio River, for a period of over three-quarters of a century prior to 1763, might well be said to have been spilled in a war for the fur trade.†

In the strife between the rivals,—the French endeavoring to hold their former possessions, and the English to extend theirs,—the strait of Detroit was an object of concern to both. Its strategical position was such that it would give the party possessing it a decided advantage. M. Du Luth, or L'Hut, under orders from Gov. De Nonville, left Mackinaw with some fifty odd *coureurs des bois* in 1688, sailed down Lake Huron and threw up a small stockade fort on the west bank of the lake, where it discharges into the River St. Clair. The following year Capt. McGregory,—Major Patrick Magregore, as his name is spelled in the commission he had in his pocket over the signature of Gov. Dongan,—with sixty Englishmen and some Indians, with their merchandise loaded in thirty-two canoes, went up Lake Erie on a trading expedition among the Indians at Detroit and Mackinaw. They were encountered and captured by a body of troops under Tonty, La Forest and other officers, who, with *coureur de bois* and Indians from the upper country, were on their way to join the French forces of Canada in a campaign against the Iroquois villages in New York.‡ The prisoners were sent to Quebec, and the plunder distributed among the captors. Du Luth's stockade was called Fort St. Joseph. In 1688 the fort was placed in command of Baron La Hontan.§

Fort St. Joseph served the purposes for which it was constructed, and a few years later, in 1701, Mons. Cadillac established Fort Pontchartrain on the present site of the city of Detroit, for no other pur-

* M. De La Barre to the Minister of the Marine, November 4, 1683: Paris Documents, vol. 9, p. 210.

† War was not formally declared between France and England, on account of colonial difficulties, until May, 1756, but the discursory broils between their colonies in America had been going on from the time of their establishment.

‡ Tonty's Memoir, and Paris Documents, vol. 9, pp. 363 and 866.

§ Fort Du Luth, or St. Joseph, as it was afterward called, was ordered to be erected in 1686, "in order to fortify the pass leading to Mackinaw against the English." Du Luth, who erected it, was in command of fifty men. Several parties of English were either captured or sent back from this post within a year or two from its establishment. *Vide* Paris Documents, vol. 9, pp. 300, 302, 306, 383.

pose than to check the English in the prosecution of the fur trade in that country.*

The French interests were soon threatened from another direction. Traders from Pennsylvania found their way westward over the mountains, where they engaged in traffic with the Indians in the valleys of eastern Ohio, and they soon established commercial relations with the Wabash tribes.† It appears from a previous chapter that the Miamis were trading at Albany in 1708. To avert this danger the French were compelled at last to erect military posts at Fort Wayne, on the Maumee (called Fort Miamis), at Ouiatanon and Vincennes, upon the Wabash.‡ Prior to 1750 *Sieur de Ligneris* was commanding at Fort Ouiatanon, and *St. Ange* was in charge at Vincennes.

As soon as the English settlements reached the eastern slope of the Alleghanies, their traders passed over the ridge, and they found it exceedingly profitable to trade with the western Indians. They could sell the same quality of goods for a third or a half of what the French usually charged, and still make a handsome profit. This new and rich field was soon overrun by eager adventurers. In the meantime a number of gentlemen, mostly from Virginia, procured an act of parliament constituting "The Ohio Company," and granting them six hundred thousand acres of land on or near the Ohio River. The objects of this company were to till the soil and to open up a trade with the Indians west of the Alleghanies and south of the Ohio.

The French, being well aware that the English could offer their goods to the Indians at greatly reduced rates, feared that they would lose the entire Indian trade. At first they protested "against this invasion of the rights of His Most Christian Majesty" to the governor of the English colonies. This did not produce the desired effect. Their demands were met with equivocations and delays. At last the French determined on summary measures. An order

* Statement of *Mons. Cadillac* of his reasons for establishing a fort on the Detroit River, copied in *Sheldon's Early History of Michigan*, pp. 85-90.

† An Englishman by the name of *Crawford* had been trading on the Wabash prior to 1749. *Vide Irving's Life of Washington*, vol. 1, p. 48.

‡ The date of the establishment of these forts is a matter of conjecture, owing to the absence of reliable data. A "Miamis" is referred to in 1719, and in the same year *Sieur Duboisson* was selected as a suitable person to take command at Ouiatanon, and in 1735 *M. de Vincenne* is alluded to, in a letter written from Kaskaskia, as commandant of the Post on the Wabash. However, owing to the successive migrations of the Miami Indians, the "Miamis" mentioned in such documents, in 1719, may have referred to the Miami and Wea villages upon the Kalamazoo and St. Joseph rivers, in the state of Michigan. The post at Vincennes, it may be safely assumed, was garrisoned as early as 1735, and Ouiatanon, below La Fayette, and Miamis, at Fort Wayne, some years before, in the order of time.

was issued to the commandants of their various posts on Lake Erie, the Ohio and the Wabash, to seize all English traders found west of the Alleghanies. In pursuance of this order, in 1751, four English traders were captured on the Vermilion of the Wabash and sent to Canada.* Other traders, dealing with the Indians in other localities, were captured and taken to Presque Isle,† and from thence to Canada.

The contest between the rival colonies still went on, increasing in the extent of its line of operations and intensifying in the animosity of the feeling with which it was conducted. We quote from a memoir prepared early in 1752, by M. de Longueuil, commandant at Detroit, showing the state of affairs at a previous date in the Wabash country. It appears, from the letters of the commandants at the several posts named, from which the memoir is compiled, that the Indian tribes upon the Maumee and Wabash, through the successful efforts of the English, had become very much disaffected toward their old friends and masters. M. de Ligneris, commandant at the Ouyatanons, says the memoir, believes that great reliance is not to be placed on the Maskoutins, and that their remaining neutral is all that is to be expected from them and the Kickapous. He even adds that "we are not to reckon on the nations which appear in our interests; no Wea chief has appeared at this post for a long time. M. de Villiers, commandant at the Miamis,—Ft. Wayne,—has been disappointed in his expectation of bringing the Miamis back from the White River,—part of whom had been to see him,—the small-pox having put the whole of them to rout. Coldfoot and his son have died of it, as well as a large portion of our most trusty Indians. *Le Gris*, chief of the *Tipicons*,‡ and his mother are likewise dead; they are a loss, because they were well disposed toward the French."

The memoir continues: "The nations of the River St. Joseph, who were to join those of Detroit, have said they would be ready to perform their promise as soon as *Ononontio*§ would have sent the necessary number of Frenchmen. The commandant of this post writes, on the 15th of January, that all the nations appear to take

* Paris Documents, vol. 10, p. 248.

† Near Erie, Pennsylvania.

‡ This is the first reference we have to Tippecanoe. Antoine Gamelin, the French merchant at Vincennes,—whom Major Hamtramck sent, in 1790, to the Wabash towns with peace messages,—calls the village, then upon this river, *Qui-te-pi-con-nae*. The name of the Tippecanoe is derived from the Algonquin word *Ke-non-gé*, or *Ke-no-zha*—from *Kenose*, long, the name of the long-billed pike, a fish very abundant in this stream, *vide* Mackenzie's and James' Vocabularies. Timothy Flint, in his *Geography and History of the Western States*, first edition, published at Cincinnati, 1828, vol. 2, p. 125, says: "The Tippecanoe received its name from a kind of pike called *Pic-ca-nau* by the savages." The termination is evidently Frenchified.

§ The name by which the Indians called the governor of Canada.

sides against us; that he would not be responsible for the good dispositions these Indians seem to entertain, inasmuch as the Miamis are their near relatives. On the one hand, Mr. de Joncaire* repeats that the Indians of the beautiful river† are all *English*, for whom alone they work; that all are resolved to sustain each other; and that not a party of Indians go to the beautiful river but leave some [of their numbers] there to increase the rebel forces. On the other hand, "Mr. *de St. Ange*, commandant of the post of Vincennes, writes to M. des Ligneris [at Ouiatanon] to use all means to protect himself from the storm which is ready to burst on the French; that *he* is busy securing himself against the fury of our enemies."

"The *Pianquichias*, who are at war with the *Chaouanons*, according to the report rendered by Mr. St. Clin, have *declared entirely against us*. They killed on Christmas *five Frenchmen at the Vermilion*. Mr. des Ligneris, who was aware of this attack, sent off a detachment to secure the effects of the Frenchmen from being plundered; but when this detachment arrived at the Vermilion, the Piankashaws had decamped. The bodies of the Frenchmen were found on the ice.‡

"M. des Ligneris was assured that the Piankashaws had committed this act because four men of their nation had been killed by the French at the Illinois, and four others had been taken and put in irons. It is said that these eight men were going to fight the Chickasaws, and had, without distrusting anything, entered the quarters of the French, who killed them. It is also reported that the Frenchmen had recourse to this extreme measure because a Frenchman and

* A French half-breed having great influence over the Indians, and whom the French authorities had sent into Ohio to conciliate the Indians.

† The Ohio.

‡ Col. Croghan's Journal, before quoted, gives the key to the aboriginal name of this stream. On the 22d of June, 1765, he makes the following entry: "We passed through a part of the same meadow mentioned yesterday; then came to a *high* woodland and arrived at Vermilion River, so called from a fine red earth found there by the Indians, with which they paint themselves. About a half a mile from where we crossed this river there is a village of Piankashaws, distinguished by the addition of the name of the river" (that is, the Piankashaws of the Vermilion, or the Vermilions, as they were sometimes called). The red earth or red chalk, known under the provincial name of red keel, is abundant everywhere along the bluffs of the Vermilion, in the shales that overlay the outcropping coal. The annual fires frequently ignited the coal thus exposed, and would burn the shale above, turn it red and render it friable. Carpenters used it to chalk their lines, and the successive generation of boys have gathered it by the pocketful. Those acquainted with the passion of the Indian for paint, particularly red, will understand the importance which the Indians would attach to it. Hence, as noted by Croghan, they called the river after the name of this red earth. Vermilion is the French word conveying the same idea, and it is a coincidence merely that Vermilion in French has the same meaning as this word in English. On the map in "Volney's View of the Soil and Climate of the United States," Phila. ed. 1804, it is called Red River. The Miami Indian name of the Vermilion was *Piankashaw*, as appears from Gen. Putnam's manuscript Journal of the treaty at Vincennes in 1792.

two slaves had been killed a few days before by another party of Piankashaws, and that the Indians in question had no knowledge of that circumstance. The capture of four English traders by M. de Celoron's order last year has not prevented other Englishmen going to trade at the Vermilion River, where the Rev. Father la Richardie wintered."*

The memoir continues: "On the 19th of October the Piankashaws had killed two more Frenchmen, who were constructing pirogues lower down than the Post of Vincenne. Two days afterward the Piankashaws killed two slaves in sight of Fort Vincenne. The murder of these nine Frenchmen and these two slaves is but too certain. A squaw, the widow of one of the Frenchmen who had been killed at the Vermilion, has reported that the Pianguichias, Illinois and Osages were to assemble at the prairies of —, the place where Messrs. de Villiers and de Noyelle attacked the Foxes about twenty years ago, and when they had built a fort to secure their families, they were to make a general attack on all the French.

"The Miamis of Rock River† have scalped two soldiers belonging to Mr. Villiers' fort.‡ This blow was struck last fall. Finally, the English have paid the Miamis for the scalps of the two soldiers belonging to Mr. de Villiers' garrison. To add to the misfortunes, M. des Ligneris has learned that the commandant of the Illinois at Fort Charters would not permit Sieurs Delisle and Fonblanche, who had contracted with the king to supply the *Miamis*, *Oujatonons*, and even Detroit with provisions from the Illinois, to purchase any provisions for the subsistence of the garrisons of those posts, on the ground that an increased arrival of troops and families would consume the stock at the Illinois. Famine is not the sole scourge we experience; the smallpox commits ravages; it begins to reach Detroit. It were desirable that it should break out and spread generally throughout the localities inhabited by our rebels. It would be fully as good as an army."

The Piankashaws, now completely estranged from the French, withdrew, almost in a body, from the Wabash, and retired to the Big Miami, whither a number of Miamis and other Indians had,

* Father Justinian de la Richardie came to Canada (according to the *Liste Chronologique*, No. 429) in 1716. He served many years in the Huron country, and also in the Illinois, and died in February, 1758. Biographical note of the editor of Paris Documents: Col. Hist. of New York, vol. 9, p. 88. The time when and the place at which this missionary was stationed on the Vermilion River is not given. The date was before 1750, as is evident from the text. The place was probably at the large Piankashaw town where the traders were killed.

† The Big Miami River of Ohio, on which stream, near the mouth of Loramies Creek, the Miamis had an extensive village, hereafter referred to.

‡ Ft. Wayne, where Mr. Villiers was then stationed in charge of Fort Miamis.

some years previous, established a village, to be nearer the English traders. The village was called *Pickawillany*, or *Picktown*. To the English and Iroquois it was known as the *Tawixtwi Town*, or *Miamitown*. It was located at the mouth of what has since been called Loramie's creek. The stream derived this name from the fact that a Frenchman of that name, subsequent to the events here narrated, had a trading-house at this place. The town was visited in 1751 by Christopher Gist, who gives the following description of it: * "The Twightee town is situated on the northwest side of the Big Miamie River, about one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth. It consists of four hundred families, and is daily increasing. It is accounted one of the strongest Indian towns in this part of the continent. The Twightees are a very numerous people, consisting of many different tribes under the same form of government. Each tribe has a particular chief, or king, one of which is chosen indifferently out of any tribe to rule the whole nation, and is vested with greater authority than any of the others. They have but lately traded with the English. They formerly lived on the farther side of the Wabash, and were in the French interests, who supplied them with some few trifles at a most exorbitant price. They have now revolted from them and left their former habitations for the sake of trading with the English, and notwithstanding all the artifices the French have used, they have not been able to recall them." George Croghan and Mr. Montour, agents in the English interests, were in the town at the time of Gist's visit, doing what they could to intensify the animosity of the inhabitants against the French. Speeches were made and presents exchanged to cement the friendship with the English. While these conferences were going on, a deputation of Indians in the French interests arrived, with soft words and valuable presents, marching into the village under French colors. The deputation was admitted to the council-house, that they might make the object of their visit known. The Piankashaw chief, or king, "Old Britton," as he was called, on account of his attachment for the English, had both the British and French flags hoisted from the council-house. The old chief refused the brandy, tobacco and other presents sent to him from the French king. In reply to the speeches of the French ambassadors he said that the road to the French had been made foul and bloody by them; that he had cleared a road to our brothers, the English, and that the French had made that bad. The French flag was taken down, and the emissaries

* Christopher Gist's Journal.

of that people, with their presents, returned to the French post from whence they came.

When negotiations failed to win the Miamis back to French authority, force was resorted to. On the 21st of June, 1752, a party of two hundred and forty French and Indians appeared before Pickawillany, surprised the Indians in their corn-fields, approaching so suddenly that the white men who were in their houses had great difficulty in reaching the fort. They killed one Englishman and fourteen Miamis, captured the stockade fort, killed the old Piankashaw king, and put his body in a kettle, boiled it and ate it up in retaliation for his people having killed the French traders on the Vermilion River and at Vincennes.* "Thus," says the eloquent historian, George Bancroft, "on the alluvial lands of western Ohio began the contest that was to scatter death broadcast through the world."†

* The account of the affair at Pickawillany is summarized from the Journal of Capt. Wm. Trent and other papers contained in a valuable book edited by A. T. Goodman, secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, and published by Robert Clarke & Co., 1871, entitled "Journal of Captain Trent."

† Old Britton's successor was his son, a young man, whose name was *Mu-she-gu-a-nock-que*, or "The Turtle." The English, and Indians in their interests, had a very high esteem for the young Piankashaw king. It is said by some writers, and there is much probability of the correctness of their opinion, that the great Miami chief, Little Turtle, was none other than the person here referred to. His age would correspond very well with that of the Piankashaw, and members of one band of the Miami nation frequently took up their abode with other bands or families of their kindred.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WAR FOR THE EMPIRE. ITS LOSS TO THE FRENCH.

THE English not only disputed the right of the French to the fur trade, but denied their title to the valley of the Mississippi, which lay west of their American colonies on the Atlantic coast. The grants from the British crown conveyed to the chartered proprietors all of the country lying between certain parallels of latitude, according to the location of the several grants, and extending westward to the South Sea, as the Pacific was then called. Seeing the weakness of such a claim to vast tracts of country, upon which no Englishman had ever set his foot, they obtained deeds of cession from the Iroquois Indians,—the dominant tribe east of the Mississippi,—who claimed all of the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi by conquest from the several Algonquin tribes, who occupied it. On the 13th of July, 1701, the sachems of the Five Nations conveyed to William III, King of Great Britain, “their beaver-hunting grounds northwest and west from Albany,” including a broad strip on the south side of Lake Erie, all of the present states of Michigan, Ohio and Indiana, and Illinois as far west as the Illinois River, claiming “that their ancestors did, more than fourscore years before, totally conquer, subdue and drive the former occupants out of that country, and had peaceable and quiet possession of the same, to hunt beavers in, it being the only chief place for hunting in that part of the world,” etc.* The Iroquois, for themselves and heirs, granted the English crown “the whole soil, the lakes, the

* The deed is found in London Documents, vol. 4, p. 908. The boundaries of the grant are indefinite in many respects. Its westward limit, says the deed, “abuts upon the Twichtwicks [Miamis], and is bounded on the right hand by a place called *Quadoge*.” On Eman Bowen’s map, which is certainly the most authentic from the British standpoint, is a “pecked line” extending from the mouth of the Illinois river, up that stream, to the Desplaines, thence across the prairies to Lake Michigan at Quadoge or Quadaghe, which is located on the map some distance southeast of Chicago, which is also shown in its correct place, and at or near the mouth of the stream that forms the harbor at Michigan City, formerly known by the French as *Riviere du Chemin*, or “Trail River,” because the great trail from Chicago to Detroit and Ft. Wayne left the lake shore at this place. The “pecked line,”—as Mr. Bowen calls the dotted line which he traces as the boundary of the Iroquois deed of cession,—extends from Michigan City northward through the entire length of Lake Michigan, the Straits of Mackinaw and between the Manitou-lin islands and the main shore in Lake Huron; thence into Canada around the north shore of Lake Nipissing; and thence down the Ottawa River to its confluence with the St. Lawrence.

rivers, and all things pertaining to said tract of land, with power to erect forts and castles there," only reserving to the grantors and "their descendants forever the right of hunting upon the same," in which privilege the grantee "was expected to protect them." The grant of the Iroquois was confirmed to the British crown by deeds of renewal in 1726 and 1744. The reader will have observed, from what has been said in the preceding chapters upon the Illinois and Miamis and Pottawatomies relative to the pretended conquests of the Iroquois, how little merit there was in the claim they set up to the territory in question. Their war parties only raided upon the country,—they never occupied it; their war parties, after doing as much mischief as they could, returned to their own country as rapidly as they came. Still their several deeds to the English crown were a "color of title" on which the latter laid great stress, and paraded at every treaty with other powers, where questions involving the right to this territory were a subject of discussion.*

The war for the fur trade expanded into a struggle for empire that convulsed both continents of America and Europe. The limit assigned this work forbids a notice of the principal occurrences in the progress of the French-Colonial War, as most of the military movements in that contest were outside of the territory we are considering. There were, however, two campaigns conducted by troops recruited in the northwest, and these engagements will be noticed. We believe they have not heretofore been compiled as fully as their importance would seem to demand.

In 1758 Gen. Forbes, with about six thousand troops, advanced against Fort Du Quesne.† In mid-September the British troops had only reached Loyal-hannon,‡ where they raised a fort. "Intelligence had been received that Fort Du Quesne was defended by but eight hundred men, of whom three hundred were Indians,"§ and Major Grant, commanding eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginians, was sent toward the French fort. On the third

* The Iroquois themselves,—as appears from an English memoir on the Indian trade, and contained among the London Documents, vol. 7, p. 18,—never supposed they had actually conveyed their right of dominion to these lands. Indeed, it appears that the Indians generally could not comprehend the purport of a deed or grant in the sense that the Europeans attach to these formidable instruments. The idea of an absolute, fee-simple right of an individual, or of a body of persons, to exclusively own real estate against the right of others even to enter upon it, to hunt or cut a shrub, was beyond the power of an Indian to comprehend. From long habit and the ownership (not only of land but many articles of domestic use) by the tribe or village of property in common, they could not understand how it could be held otherwise.

† At the present site of Pittsburgh, Pa.

‡ Loyal-hannon, afterward Fort Ligonier, was situated on the east side of Loyal-hannon Creek, Westmoreland county, Pa., and was about forty-five miles from Fort Du Quesne; *vide* Pennsylvania Archives, XII, 389.

§ Bancroft, vol. iv, p. 311.

day's march Grant had arrived within two miles of Fort Du Quesne. Leaving his baggage there, he took position on a hill, a quarter of a mile from the fort, and encamped.*

Grant, who was not aware that the garrison had been reinforced by the arrival of Mons. Aubry, commandant at Fort Chartes, with four hundred men from the Illinois country, determined on an ambuscade. At break of day Major Lewis was sent, with four hundred men, to lie in ambush a mile and a half from the main body, on the path on which they left their baggage, imagining the French would send a force to attack the baggage guard and seize it. Four hundred men were posted along the hill facing the fort to cover the retreat of MacDonald's company, which marched with drums beating toward the fort, in order to draw a party out of it, as Major Grant had reason to believe there were, including Indians, only two hundred men within it.†

M. de Ligneris, commandant at Fort Du Quesne, at once assembled seven or eight hundred men, and gave the command to M. Aubry.‡ The French sallied out of the fort, and the Indians, who had crossed the river to keep out of the way of the British, returned and made a flank movement. Aubry, by a rapid movement, attacked the different divisions of the English, and completely routed and dispersed them. The force under Major Lewis was compelled to give way. Being flanked, a number were driven into the river, most of whom were drowned. The English lost two hundred and seventy killed, forty-two wounded, and several prisoners; among the latter was Grant.

On the 22d of September M. Aubry left Fort Du Quesne, with a force of six hundred French and Indians, intending to reconnoitre the position of the English at Loyal-hannon.

"He found a little camp in front of some intrenchments which would cover a body of two thousand men. The advance guard of the French detachment having been discovered, the English sent a captain and fifty men to reconnoitre, who fell in with the detachment and were entirely defeated. In following the fugitives the French fell upon this camp, and surprised and dispersed it.

"The fugitives scarcely gained the principal intrenchment, which M. Aubry held in blockade two days. He killed two hundred horses and cattle." The French returned to Fort Du Quesne mounted.§ "The English lost in the engagement one hundred and fifty men,

* The hill has ever since borne Grant's name.

† Craig's History of Pittsburgh, p. 74.

‡ Garneau's History of Canada, Bell's translation, vol. 2, p. 214.

§ Pouchot's Memoir, p. 130.

killed, wounded and missing. The French loss was two killed and seven wounded."

The Louisiana detachment, which took the principal part in both of these battles, was recruited from the French posts in "The Illinois," and consisted of soldiers taken from the garrison in that territory, and the *coureurs des bois*, traders and settlers in their respective neighborhoods. It was the first battalion ever raised within the limits of the present states of Illinois, Indiana and Michigan. After the action of Loyal-laumon, "the Louisiana detachment, as well as those from Detroit, returned home."*

Soon after their departure, and on the 24th of November, the French abandoned Fort Du Quesne. Pouchot says: "It came to pass that by blundering at Fort Du Quesne the French were obliged to abandon it for want of provisions." This may have been the true reason for the abandonment, but doubtless the near approach of a large English army, commanded by Gen. Forbes, had no small influence in accelerating their movements. The fort was a mere stockade, of small dimensions, and not suited to resist the attacks of artillery.†

Having burnt the stockade and storehouses, the garrison separated. One hundred retired to Presque Isle, by land. Two hundred, by way of the Alleghany, went to Venango. The remaining hundred descended the Ohio. About forty miles above its confluence with the Mississippi, and on a beautiful eminence on the north bank of the river, they erected a fort and named it Fort Massac, in honor of the commander, M. Massac, who superintended its construction. This was the last fort erected by the French on the Ohio, and it was occupied by a garrison of French troops until the evacuation of the country under the stipulations of the treaty of Paris. Such was the origin of Fort Massac, divested of the romance which fable has thrown around its name."‡

* Letter of Marquis Montcalm: Paris Documents, vol. 10, p. 901.

† Hildreth's Pioneer History, p. 42.

‡ Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, vol. 1, p. 317. Gov. Reynolds, who visited the remains of Fort Massac in 1855, thus describes its remains: "The outside walls were one hundred and thirty-five feet square, and at each angle strong bastions were erected. The walls were palisades, with earth between the wood. A large well was sunk in the fortress, and the whole appeared to have been strong and substantial in its day. Three or four acres of gravel walks were made on the north of the fort, on which the soldiers paraded. The walks were made in exact angles, and beautifully graveled with pebbles from the river. The site is one of the most beautiful on La Belle Riviere, and commands a view of the Ohio that is charming and lovely. French genius for the selection of sites for forts is eminently sustained in their choice of Fort Massacre." The Governor states that the fort was first established in 1711, and "was enlarged and made a respectable fortress in 1756." *Vide* Reynolds' Life and Times, pp. 28, 29. This is, probably, a mistake. There are no records in the French official documents of any military post in that vicinity until the so-called French and Indian war.

On the day following the evacuation, the English took peaceable possession of the smoking ruins of Fort Du Quesne. They erected a temporary fortification, named it Fort Pitt, in honor of the great English statesman of that name, and leaving two hundred men as a garrison, retired over the mountains.

On the 5th of December, 1758, Thomas Pownall, governor of Massachusetts Bay Province, addressed a memorial to the British Ministry, suggesting that there should be an entire change in the method of carrying on the war. Pownall stated that the French were superior in battles fought in the wilderness; that Canada never could be conquered by land campaigns; that the proper way to succeed in the reduction of Canada would be to make an attack on Quebec by sea, and thus, by cutting off supplies from the home government, Canada would be starved out.*

Pitt, if he did not act on the recommendations of Gov. Pownall, at least had similar views, and the next year (1759), in accordance with this plan, Gen. Wolfe made a successful assault on Quebec, and from that time, the supplies and reinforcements from the home government being cut off, the cause of the French in Canada became almost hopeless.

During this year the French made every effort to stir up the Indians north of the Ohio to take the tomahawk and scalping-knife in hand, and make one more attempt to preserve the northwest for the joint occupancy of the Gallic and American races. Emissaries were sent to Lake Erie, Detroit, Mackinaw, Ouiatanon, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Fort Chartes, loaded with presents and ammunition, for the purpose of collecting all those stragglers who had not enterprise enough to go voluntarily to the seat of war. Canada was hard pressed for soldiers; the English navy cut off most of the rein-

* Pownall's Administration of the Colonies, Appendix, p. 57. Thomas Pownall, born in England in 1720, came to America in 1753; was governor of Massachusetts Bay, and subsequently was appointed governor of South Carolina. He was highly educated, and possessed a thorough knowledge of the geography, history and policy of both the French and English colonies in America. His work on the "Administration of the American Colonies" passed through many editions. In 1756 he addressed a memorial to His Highness the Duke of Cumberland, on the conduct of the colonial war, in which he recommended a plan for its further prosecution. The paper is a very able one. Much of it compiled from the official letters of Marquis Vaudreuil, Governor-General of Canada, written between the years 1743 and 1752, showing the policy of the French, and giving a minute description of their settlements, military establishments in the west, their manner of dealing with the Indians, and a description of the river communications of the French between their possessions in Canada and Louisiana. In 1776 he revised Evans' celebrated map of the "Middle British Provinces in America." After his return to England he devoted himself to scientific pursuits. He was a warm friend of the American colonists in the contest with the mother country, and denounced the measures of parliament concerning the colonies as harsh and wholly unwarranted, and predicted the result that followed. He died in 1805.

forcements from France, while the English, on the contrary, were constantly receiving troops from the mother country.

Mons. de Aubry, commandant at Fort Chartes, persuaded four hundred men from the "Illinois country" to follow him eastward. Taking with him two hundred thousand pounds of flour, he embarked his heterogeneous force in bateaux and canoes. The route by way of the Ohio was closed; the English were in possession of its headwaters. He went down the Mississippi, thence up the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash. Having ascended the latter stream to the Miami villages, near the present site of Fort Wayne, his followers made the portage, passed down the Maumee, and entered Lake Erie.

During the whole course of their journey they were being constantly reinforced by bands of different tribes of Indians, and by Canadian militia as they passed the several posts, until the army was augmented to sixteen hundred men, of whom there were six hundred French and one thousand Indians. An eye-witness, in speaking of the appearance of the force, said: "When they passed the little rapid at the outlet of Lake Erie (at Buffalo) the flotilla appeared like a floating island, as the river was covered with their bateaux and canoes."*

Aubry was compelled to leave his flour and provisions at the Miami portage. He afterward requested M. de Port-neuf, commandant at Presque Isle, to take charge of the portage, and to send it constantly in his bateaux.†

Before Aubry reached Presque Isle he was joined by other bodies of Indians and Canadians from the region of the upper lakes. They were under the command of French traders and commandants of interior posts. At Fort Machault‡ he was joined by M. de Lignery; the latter had assembled the Ohio Indians at Presque Isle.§ It was the original intention of Aubry to recapture Fort Du Quesne from the English. On the 12th of July a grand council was held at Fort Machault, in which the commandant thanked the Indians for their attendance, threw down the war belt, and told them he would set out the next day for Fort Du Quesne. Soon after messengers arrived with a packet of letters for the officers. After reading them Aubry told the Indians: "Children, I have received bad news; the English are gone against Niagara. We must give over thoughts of going down the river to Fort Du Quesne till we have cleared that place of

* Pouchot's Memoirs, vol. 1, pp. 186, 187

† Idem, p. 152.

‡ Located at the mouth of French Creek, Pennsylvania.

§ Idem, 187.

the enemy. If it should be taken, our road to you is stopped, and you must become poor." Orders were immediately given to proceed with the artillery, provisions, etc., up French Creek, and the Indians prepared to follow.*

These letters were from M. Pouchot, commandant at Niagara,† and stated that he was besieged by a much superior force of English and Indians, who were under the command of Gen. Predeaux and Sir William Johnson. Aubry answered these letters on the next day, and said he thought they might fight the enemy successfully, and compel them to raise the siege. The Indians who brought these messages to Pouchot informed him that they, on the part of the Indians with Aubry and Lignery, had offered the Iroquois and other Indian allies of the English five war belts if they would retire. These promised that they would not mingle in the quarrel. "We will here recall the fact that Pouchot, by his letter of the 10th, had notified Lignery and Aubry that the enemy might be four or five thousand strong without the Indians, and if they could put themselves in condition to attack so large a force, he should pass Chenondac to come to Niagara by the other side of the river, where he would be in condition to drive the English, who were only two hundred strong on that side, and could not easily be reinforced. This done, they could easily come to him, because after the defeat of this body they could send bateaux to bring them to the fort."

M. Pouchot now recalled his previous request, and informed Aubry that the enemy were in three positions, in one of which there were three thousand nine hundred Indians. He added, could Aubry succeed in driving the enemy from any of these positions, he had no doubt they would be forced to raise the siege.‡

Aubry's route was up French Creek to its head-waters, thence making the portage to Presque Isle and sailing along the shores of Lake Erie until he reached Niagara. Arriving at the foot of Lake Erie he left one hundred and fifty men in charge of his canoes, and with the remainder advanced toward Niagara. Sir William Johnson was informed, on the evening of the 23d, of this advance of the French, and ordered his light infantry and pickets to take post on the left, on the road between Niagara Falls and the fort; and these, after reinforcing them with grenadiers and parts of the 46th and 44th regiments, were so arranged as to effectually support the guard left

* Extract from a letter dated July 17, 1759, of Col. Mercer, commandant at Fort Pitt, published in Craig's Olden Time, vol. 1, p. 194.

† Fort Niagara was one of the earliest French military posts, and situated on the right, or American shore of Lake Ontario, at the mouth of Niagara River. It has figured conspicuously in all of the wars on the lake frontier.

‡ Pouchot's Memoirs, vol. 1, pp. 186, 187, 188.

in the trenches. Most of his men were concealed either in the trenches or by trees.

On the morning of the 24th the French made their appearance. They were marching along a path about eight feet wide, and "were in readiness to fight in close order and without ranks or files." On their right were thirty Indians, who formed a front on the enemy's left. The Indians of the English army advanced to speak to those of the French. Seeing the Iroquois in the latter's company, the French Indians refused to advance, under pretext that they were at peace with the first named. Though thus abandoned by their chief force, Aubry and Lignery still proceeded on their way, thinking that the few savages they saw were isolated men, till they reached a narrow pathway, when they discovered great numbers beyond. The English Indians then gave the war-whoop and the action commenced. The English regulars attacked the French in front, while the Indians poured in on their flank. Thus surprised by an ambushade, and deserted by their savage allies, the French proved easy victims to the prowess of far superior numbers. They were assailed in front and rear by two thousand men. The rear of the column, unable to resist, gave way, and left the head exposed to the enemy's fire, which crushed it entirely. An Indian massacre followed, and the pursuit of the victors continued until they were compelled to desist by sheer fatigue. Almost all the French officers were killed, wounded or taken prisoners. Among the latter was Aubry. Those who escaped joined M. Rocheblave, and with his detachment retreated to Detroit and other western lake posts.*

This defeat on the shores of Lake Erie was very severe on the struggling western settlements. Most all of the able-bodied men had gone with Aubry, many never to return. In 1760 M. de Mac-Carty, commandant at Fort Chartes, in a letter to Marquis Vaudreuil, stated that "the garrison was weaker than ever before, the check at Niagara having cost him the *élite* of his men."†

It is apparent, from the desertion of Aubry by his savage allies, that they perceived that the English were certain to conquer in the end. They felt no particular desire to prop a falling cause, and thus deserted Mons. Aubry at the crisis when their assistance was most needed. Thus was defeated the greatest French-Indian force ever collected in the northwest.‡

* The account of this action has been compiled from Mante, p. 226; Pouchot, vol. 1, p. 192; and Garneau's History of Canada, vol. 2, pp. 250, 251, Bell's translation.

† Paris Documents, vol. 10, p. 1093.

‡ Aubry returned to Louisiana and remained there until after the peace of 1763. In 1765 he was appointed governor of Louisiana, and surrendered the colony, in March,

The next day after Aubry's defeat, near Fort Niagara, the fortress surrendered.

After the surrender of Niagara and Fort Du Quesne, the Indian allies of France retired to the deep recesses of the western forests, and the English frontiers suffered no more from their depredations. Settlements were gradually formed on the western side of the Alleghanies, and they remained secure from Indian invasions.

In the meantime many Canadians, becoming satisfied that the conquest of Canada was only a mere question of time, determined, before that event took place, to remove to the French settlements on the lower Mississippi. "Many of them accordingly departed from Canada by way of the lakes, and thence through the Illinois and Wabash Rivers to the Mississippi."*

After the surrender of Quebec, in 1759, Montreal became the headquarters of the French in Canada, and in the spring of 1760 Mons. Levi, the French commander-in-chief, besieged Quebec. The arrival of an English fleet compelled him to relinquish his designs. Amherst and Johnson formed a junction, and advanced against Montreal. The French governor of Canada, Marquis Vaudreil, believing that further resistance was impossible, surrendered all Canada to the English. This included the western posts of Detroit, Mackinaw, Fort Miami, Ouiatanon, Vincennes, Fort St. Joseph, etc.

After this war ceased to be waged in America, though the treaty of Paris was not concluded until February, 1763, the most essential parts of which are contained in the following extracts:

"In order to establish peace on solid and durable foundations, and to remove forever all subjects of dispute with regard to the limits of the British and French territories on the continent of America, it is agreed that for the future the confines between the dominions of his Britannic Majesty and those of His Most Christian Majesty in that part of the world, shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the River Mississippi from its source to the River Iberville, and from thence by a line drawn along the middle of this river and the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea; and for this purpose the most Christian King cedes, in full right, and guarantees to his Britannic Majesty, the river and port of Mobile, and everything which he possesses, or ought to possess, on the left side of the Mississippi, with the exception of the town of 1766, to the Spanish governor, Ulloa. After the expulsion of Ulloa, he held the government until relieved by O'Reilly, in July, 1769. He soon afterward sailed for France. The vessel was lost, and Aubry perished in the depths of the sea.

* Monette's Valley of the Mississippi, vol. 1, p. 305.

New Orleans and of the island on which it is situated; it being well understood that the navigation of the Mississippi shall be equally free, as well to the subjects of Great Britain as to those of France, in its whole length and breadth, from its source to the sea.”*

Thus Gallic rule came to an end in North America. Its downfall was the result of natural causes, and was owing largely to the difference between the Frenchmen and the Englishmen. The former, as a rule, gave no attention to agriculture, but found occupation in hunting and trading with the Indians, acquiring nomadic habits that unfitted them for the cultivation of the soil; their families dwelt in villages separated by wide stretches of wilderness. While the able men were hunting and trading, the old men, women and children produced scanty crops sown in “common fields,” or inclosures of a piece of ground which were portioned off among the families of the village. The Englishman, on the other hand, loved to own land, and pushed his improvements from the coast line up through all the valleys extending westward. Reaching the summit of the Alleghanies, the tide of emigration flowed into the valleys beyond. Every cabin was a fort, every advancing farm a new line of intrenchment. The distinguishing characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon is consistency and firmness in his designs, and, more than all, his love for a home. In the trials and hardships necessarily connected with the opening up of the wilderness these traits come prominently into play. The result was, that the English colonies prospered in a degree hitherto unknown in the annals of the world’s progress. And by way of contrast, how little did the French have to show in the way of lasting improvements in the northwest after it had been in their possession for nearly a century!

However, the very traits that disqualified the Gaul as a successful colonist gave him a preëminent advantage over the Anglo-Saxon in the influence he exerted upon the Indian. He did not want their

* “On the 3d day of the previous November, France, by a secret treaty ceded to Spain all her possessions west of the Mississippi. His Most Christian Majesty made known to the inhabitants of Louisiana the fact of the cession by a letter, dated April 21, 1764. Don Ulloa, the New Spanish governor, arrived at New Orleans in 1766. The French inhabitants objected to the transfer of Louisiana to Spain, and, resorting to arms, compelled Ulloa to return to Havana. In 1769, O’Reilly, with a Spanish force, arrived and took possession. He killed six of the ringleaders and sent others to Cuba. Spain remained in possession of Louisiana until March, 1801, when Louisiana was retroceded to the French republic. The French made preparations to occupy Louisiana, and an army of twenty-five thousand men was designed for that territory, but the fleet and army were suddenly blockaded in one of the ports of Holland by an English squadron. This occurrence, together with the gloomy aspect of affairs in Europe, induced Napoleon, who was then at the head of the French republic, to cede Louisiana to the United States. The treaty was dated April 30, 1803. The actual transfer occurred in December of the same year.” *Vide Stoddard’s Sketches of Louisiana*, pp. 71, 102.

lands; he fraternized with them, adopted their ways, and flattered and pleased them. The Anglo-Saxon wanted their lands. From the start he was clamorous for deeds and cessions of territory, and at once began crowding the Indian out of the country. "The Iroquois told Sir Wm. Johnson that they believed soon they should not be able to hunt a bear into a hole in a tree but some Englishman would claim a right to the property of it, as being found in *his* tree."*

The happiness which the Indians enjoyed from their intercourse with the French was their perpetual theme; it was their golden age. "Those who are old enough to remember it speak of it with rapture, and teach their children to venerate it, as the ancients did the reign of Saturn. 'You call us your children,' said an aged chief to Gen. Harrison, 'why do you not make us happy, as our fathers the French did? They never took from us our lands, which, indeed, were in common between us. They planted where they pleased, and cut wood where they pleased, and so did we; but now, if a poor Indian attempts to take a little bark from a tree to cover him from the rain, up comes a white man and threatens to shoot him, claiming the tree as his own.'"+

* Pownall's Administration of the Colonies.

† Memoirs of Gen. Harrison, p. 134.

CHAPTER XXII.

PONTIAC'S WAR TO RECOVER THE NORTHWEST FROM THE ENGLISH.

AFTER the surrender of Canada to the English by the Marquis Vaudreuil, Sir Jeffery Amherst, commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in North America, ordered Major Robert Rogers to ascend the lakes and take possession of the western forts. On the 13th of September Rogers, with two hundred of his rangers, left Montreal. After weeks of weary traveling, they reached the mouth of Cayahoga River, the present site of Cleveland, on the 7th of November. Here they were met by Pontiac, a celebrated Ottawa chieftain, who asked Rogers what his intentions were, and how he dared enter that country without his permission. Rogers replied that the French had been defeated; that Canada was surrendered into the hands of the British; and that he was on his way to take possession of Detroit, Mackinaw, Miamis and Ouitanon. He also proposed to restore a general peace to white men and Indians alike. "Pontiac listened with attention, but only replied that he should stand in the path of the English until morning." In the morning he returned, and allowed the English to advance. He said there would be no trouble so long as they treated him with deference and respect.

Embarking on the 12th of November, they arrived in a few days at Maumee Bay, at the western end of Lake Erie. The western Indians, to the number of four hundred, had collected at the mouth of Detroit River. They were determined to massacre the entire party under Rogers. It afterward appeared that they were acting under the influence of the French commandant at Detroit. Rogers prevailed upon Pontiac to use his influence to induce the warlike Indians to disband. After some parleying, Pontiac succeeded, and the road was open to Detroit.

Before his arrival at Detroit Rogers had sent in advance Lieutenant Brehm with a letter to Captain Beletre, the commandant, informing the latter that his garrison was included in the surrender of Canada. Beletre wholly disregarded the letter. He declared he thought it was a trick of the English, and that they intended to obtain possession of his fortress by treachery. He made use of every endeavor to excite the Indians against the English. "He

displayed upon a pole, before the yelling multitude, the effigy of a crow pecking a man's head, the crow representing himself, and the head, observes Rogers, 'being meant for my own.' **

Rogers then sent forward Captain Campbell with a copy of the capitulation and a letter from the Marquis Vaudreuil, directing that the place should be given up in accordance with the articles agreed upon between him and General Amherst. The French commandant could hold out no longer, and, much against his will, was compelled to deliver the fortress to the English. The lilies of France were lowered from the flagstaff, and their place was taken by the cross of St. George. Seven hundred Indian warriors and their families, all of whom had aided the French by murdering innocent women and children on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York, greeted the change with demoniacal yells of apparent pleasure; but concealed in their breasts was a natural dislike for the English. Dissembling for the present, they kept their hatred to themselves, for the late successes of British arms had awed them into silence.

It was on the 29th of November, 1760, that Detroit was given over to the English. The garrison, as prisoners of war, were taken to Philadelphia.

Rogers sent an officer up the Maumee, and from thence down the Wabash, to take possession of the posts at the portage and at Ouiatanon. Both of these objects were attained without any difficulty.

On account of the lateness of the season the detachment which had started for Mackinaw returned to Detroit, and all efforts against the posts on the upper lakes were laid aside until the following season. In that year the English took possession of Mackinaw, Green Bay and St. Joseph. The French still retained possession of Vincennes and Fort Chartes.†

It always was the characteristic policy of the French to render the savages dependent upon them, and with that design in view they had earnestly endeavored to cultivate among the Indians a desire for European goods. By prevailing upon the Indians to throw aside hides and skins of wild beasts for clothing of European manufacture, to discontinue the use of their pottery for cooking utensils of iron, to exchange the bow and arrow and stone weapons for the gun, the knife and hatchet of French manufacture, it was thought that in the course of one or two generations they would become dependent upon their French neighbors for the common necessities of life. When

* Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac, p. 150.

† This account of the delivery of the western forts to Rogers has been collated from his Journal and from Parkman's Conspiracy of Pontiac.

this change in their customs had taken place, by simply withholding the supply of ammunition they could coerce the savages to adopt any measures that the French government saw fit to propose. The policy of the French was not to force, but to lead, the savages into subjection. They told the barbarians that they were the children of the great king, who had sent his people among them to preserve them from their implacable enemies, the English. Flattering them, asking their advice, bestowing upon them presents, and, above all, showing them respect and deference, the French gained the good will of the savages in a degree that no other European nation ever equaled. After the surrender of the western posts all this was changed. The accustomed presents formerly bestowed upon them were withheld. English traders robbed, bullied and cheated them. English officers treated them with rudeness and contempt. But, most of all, the steady advance of the English colonists over the mountains, occupying their lands, driving away their game, and forcing them to retire farther west, alarmed and exasperated the aborigines to the limit of endurance. "The wrongs and neglect the Indians felt were inflamed by the French *coureurs de bois* and traders. They had every motive to excite the tribes against the English, such as their national rancor, their religious antipathies, and most especially the fear of losing the profitable Indian trade." Every effort was made to excite and inflame the slumbering passions of the tribes of the Northwest. Secret councils were held, and different plans for obtaining possession of the western fortresses were discussed. The year after Rogers obtained Detroit there was, in the summer, an outbreak, but it was easily quelled, being only local. The next year, also, there was another disturbance, but it, like the former, did not spread.

During these two years one Indian alone,—Pontiac,—comprehended the situation. He read correctly the signs and portents of the times. He well knew that English supremacy on the North American continent meant the destruction of his race. He saw the great difference between the English and the French. The former were settlers, the latter traders. The French came to the far west for their beaver skins and peltries, while the English would only be satisfied with their lands. Pontiac soon arrived at the conclusion that unless the ceaseless flow of English immigration was stopped, it would not be many decades before the Indian race would be driven from the face of the earth. Well has time justified this opinion of the able Indian chieftain!

To accomplish his designs, Pontiac was well aware that he must induce all the tribes of the northwest to join him. Even then he

had doubts of final success. To encourage him, the French traders informed him "that the English had stolen Canada while their common father was asleep at Versailles; that he would soon awaken and again wrest his domains from the intruders; that even now large French armies were on their way up the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers." Pontiac believed these tales, for let it be borne in mind that this was previous to the treaty of Paris, and late in the autumn of 1762 he sent emissaries with black wampum and the red tomahawk to the villages of the Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Saes, Foxes, Menominees, Illinois, Miamis, Shawnees, Delawares, Wyandots, Kickapoos and Senecas. These emissaries were instructed to inform the various tribes that the English had determined to exterminate the northwestern Indians; to accomplish this they intended to erect numerous fortifications in the territory named; and also that the English had induced the southern Indians to aid them.* To avert these inimical designs of the English, the messengers of Pontiac proposed that on a certain day all the tribes, by concerted action, should seize all the English posts and then attack the whole English border.

Pontiac's plan was contrived and developed with wonderful secrecy, and all of a sudden the conspiracy burst its fury simultaneously over all the forts held by the British west of the Alleghanies. By stratagem or forcible assault every garrison west of Pittsburgh, excepting Detroit, was captured.

Fort St. Joseph, on the river of that name, in the present state of Michigan, was captured by the Pottawatomies. These emissaries of Pontiac collected about the fort on the 23d of May, 1763, and under the guise of friendship effected an entrance within the palisades, when they suddenly turned upon and massacred the whole garrison, except the commandant, Ensign Slussee and three soldiers, whom they made prisoners and sent to Detroit.

The Ojibbeways effected an entry within the defenses of Fort Mackinaw, the gate being left open while the Indians were amusing the officer and soldiers with a game of ball. In the play the ball was knocked over within the palisade. The players, hurrying through the gates, seemingly intent on regaining the ball, seized their knives and guns from beneath the blankets of their squaws, where they had been purposely concealed, and commenced an indiscriminate massacre.†

* The Chickasaws and Cherokees were at that time, though on their own responsibility, waging war against some of the tribes of the northwest.

† A detailed account of this most horrible massacre is given by the fur-trader Alex-

Ensign Holmes, who was in command at Fort Miami,* learned that to the Miamis in the vicinity of his post was allotted the destruction of his garrison. Holmes collected the Indians in an assembly, and charged them with forming a conspiracy against his post. They confessed; said that they were influenced by hostile Indians, and promised to relinquish their designs. The village of Pontiac was within a short distance of the post, and some of his immediate followers doubtless attended the assembly. Holmes supposed he had partially allayed their irritation, as appears from a letter written from him to Major Gladwyn.†

On the 27th of May a young Indian squaw, who was the mistress of Holmes, requested him to visit a sick Indian woman who lived in a wigwam near at hand. "Having confidence in the girl, Holmes followed her out of the fort." Two Indians, who were concealed behind the hut, as he approached it, fired and "stretched him lifeless on the ground." The sergeant rushed outside of the palisade to learn the cause of the firing. He was immediately seized by the Indians. The garrison, who by this time had become thoroughly alarmed, and had climbed upon the palisades, was ordered to surrender by one Godefroy, a Canadian. They were informed, if they submitted their lives would be spared, otherwise they all would be massacred. Having lost their officers and being in great terror, they threw open the gate and gave themselves up as prisoners. According to tradition, the garrison was afterward massacred.‡

Fort Ouiatanon was under the command of Lieut. Jenkins, who had no suspicion of any Indian troubles, and on the 1st of June, when he was requested by some of the Indians to visit them in their cabins near by, he unhesitatingly complied with the request. Upon his entering the hut he was immediately seized by the Indian warriors. Through various other stratagems of a similar nature several of the soldiers were also taken. Jenkins was then told to have the soldiers in the fort surrender. "For," said the Indians, "should your men kill one of our braves, we shall put you all to death."

ander Henry, an eye-witness and one of the few survivors, in his interesting *Book of Travels and Adventures*, p. 85.

* Now Fort Wayne.

FORT MIAMIS, March 30th, 1763.

† Since my Last Letter to You, wherein I Acquainted You of the Bloody Belt being in this Village, I have made all the search I could about it, and have found it not to be True; Whereon I Assembled all the chiefs of this Nation, & after a long and troublesome Spell with them, I Obtained the Belt, with a Speech, as You will Receive Enclosed; This affair is very timely Stopt, and I hope the News of a Peace will put a Stop to any further Troubles with these Indians, who are the Principal Ones of Setting Mischief on Foot. I send you the Belt, with this Packet, which I hope You will Forward to the General.

‡ Brice's History of Fort Wayne.

Jenkins thinking that resistance would be useless, ordered the remaining soldiers to deliver the fort to the Indians. During the night the Indians resolved to break their plighted word, and massacre all their prisoners. Two of the French residents, M. M. Maigonville and Lorain, gave the Indians valuable presents, including wampum, brandy, etc., and thus preserved the lives of the English captives. Jenkins, in his letter to Major Gladwyn, commandant at Detroit, states that the Weas were not favorably inclined toward Pontiac's designs; but being coerced by the surrounding tribes, they undertook to carry out their part of the programme. Well did they succeed. Lient. Jenkins, with the other prisoners, were, within a few days afterward, sent across the prairies of Illinois to Fort Chartres.

Detroit held out, though regularly besieged by Pontiac in person, for more than fifteen months, when, at last, the suffering garrison was relieved by the approach of troops under Gen. Bradstreet. In the meantime Pontiac confederates, wearied and disheartened by the protracted struggle, longed for peace. Several tribes abandoned the declining fortune of Pontiac; and finally the latter gave up the contest, and retired to the neighborhood of Fort Miamis. Here he remained for several months, when he went westward, down the Wabash and across the prairies to Fort Chartres. The latter fort remained in possession of a French officer, not having been as yet surrendered to the English, the hostility of the Indians preventing its delivery; and by agreements of the two governments, France and England, it was left in charge of the veteran St. Ange.

The English having acquired the territory herein considered, by conquest and treaty, from France, renewed their efforts to reclaim authority over it from its aboriginal inhabitants. To effect this object, they now resort to conciliation and diplomacy. They sent westward George Croghan.*

After closing a treaty with the Indians at Fort Pitt, Croghan started on his mission on the 15th of May 1765, going down the Ohio in two bateaux. His movements were known to the hostile

* Croghan was an old trader who had spent his life among the Indians, and was versed in their language, ways and habits of thought, and who well knew how to flatter and cajole them. Besides this, Croghan enjoyed the advantage of a personal acquaintance with many of the chiefs and principal men of the Wabash tribes, who had met him while trading at Pickawillany and other places where he had trading establishments. Among the Miami, Wea and Piankashaw bands Croghan had many Indian friends whose attachments toward him were very warm. He was a veteran, up to all the arts of the Indian council house, and had in years gone by conducted many important treaties between the authorities of New York and Pennsylvania with the Iroquois, Delawares and Shawnees. In the war for the fur trade Croghan suffered severely; the French captured his traders, confiscated his goods, and bankrupted his fortune.

tribes. A war party of eighty Kickapoos and Mascoutins, "spirited up" to the act by the French traders at Ouiatanon, as Croghan says in his Journal, left the latter place, and captured Croghan and his party at daybreak on the 8th of June, in the manner narrated in a previous chapter.* He was carried to Vincennes, his captors conducting him a devious course through marshes, tangled forests and small prairie, to the latter place.†

After Croghan had procured wearing apparel (his captors had stripped him well-nigh naked) and purchased some horses he crossed the Wabash; and soon entered the great prairie which he describes in extracts we have already taken from his journal. His route was up through Crawford, Edgar and Vermilion counties, following the old traveled trail running along the divide between the Embarrass and the Wabash, and which was a part of the great highway leading from Detroit to Kaskaskia;‡ crossed the Vermilion River near Danville, thence along the trail through Warren county, Indiana. Croghan, still a prisoner in charge of his captors, reached Ouiatanon on the afternoon of the 23d of June.§ Here the Weas,

* P. 161.

† Croghan, in his Journal, says: "I found Vincennes a village of eighty or ninety French families, settled on the east side of the river, being one of the finest situations that can be found. The French inhabitants hereabouts are an idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegadoes from Canada, and are much worse than the Indians. They took secret pleasure at our misfortune, and the moment we arrived they came to the Indians, exchanging trifles for their valuable plunder. Here is likewise an Indian village of Piankashaws, who were much displeased with the party that took me, telling them that 'our' and your chiefs are gone to make peace, and you have begun war, for which our women and children will have reason to cry.' Port Vincent is a place of great consequence for trade, being a fine hunting country all along the Wabash."

‡ That part of the route from Kaskaskia east, from the earliest settlement of Illinois and Indiana, was called "the old Vincennes trace." "This trace," says Gov. Reynolds, in his Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 79, "was celebrated in Illinois. The Indians laid it out more than one hundred and fifty years ago. It commenced at Detroit, thence to Ouiatanon, on the Wabash, thence to Vincennes and thence to Kaskaskia. It was the Appian way of Illinois in ancient times. It is yet (in 1852) visible in many places between Kaskaskia and Vincennes." It was also visible for years after the white settlements began, between the last place, the Vermilion and Ouiatanon, on the route described.—[AUTHOR.

§ Croghan says of Ouiatanon that there were "about fourteen French families living in the fort, which stands on the *north* side of the river; that the Kickapoos and Mascoutins, whose warriors had taken us, live *nigh* the fort, on the *same* side of the river, where they have *two* villages, and the Ouicatonons or Wawcottonans [as Croghan variously spells the name of the Weas] have a village on the *south* side of the river." "On the *south* side of the Wabash runs a high bank, in which are several very fine coal mines, and behind this bank is a very large meadow, clear for several miles." The printer made a mistake in setting up Croghan's manuscript, or else Croghan himself committed an unintentional error in his diary in substituting the word *south* for *north* in describing the *side of the river* on which the appearances of coal banks are found. The only locality on the banks of the Wabash, above the Vermilion, where the carboniferous shales resembling coal are exposed is on the west, or north bank, of the river, about four miles above Independence, at a place known as "*Black Rock*," which, says Prof. Collett, in his report on the geology of Warren county, Indiana, published in the Geological Survey of Indiana for 1873, pp. 224-5, "is a notable and romantic feature in the river scenery." "A precipitous or overhanging cliff exhibits an almost sheer descent of a

from the opposite side of the river, took great interest in Mr. Croghan, and were deeply "concerned at what had happened. They charged the Kickapoos and Mascoutins to take the greatest care of him, and the Indians and white men captured with him, until their chiefs should arrive from Fort Chartres, whither they had gone, some time before, to meet him, and who were necessarily ignorant of his being captured on his way to the same place." From the 4th to the 8th of July Croghan held conferences with the Weas, Piankeshaws, Kickapoos and Mascoutins, in which, he says, "I was lucky enough to reconcile those nations to His Majesty's interests, and obtained their consent to take possession of the posts in their country which the French formerly possessed, and they offered their services should any nation oppose our taking such possession, all of which they confirmed by four large pipes."* On the 11th a messenger arrived from Fort Chartres requesting the Indians to take Croghan and his party thither; and as Fort Chartres was the place to which he had originally designed going, he desired the chiefs to get ready to set out with him for that place as soon as possible. On the 13th the chiefs from "the Miamis" came in and renewed their "ancient friendship with His Majesty." On the 18th Croghan, with his party and the chiefs of the Miami and other tribes we have mentioned, forming an imposing procession, started off across the country toward Fort Chartres. On the way (neither Croghan's official report or his private journal show the place) they met the great "Pontiac himself, together with the deputies of the Iroquois, Delawares and Shawnees,† who had gone on around to Fort Chartres with Capt.

hundred and forty feet to the Wabash, at its foot. The top is composed of yellow, red, brown or black conglomerate sandrock, highly ferruginous, and in part pebbly. At the base of the sandrock, where it joins upon the underlying carbonaceous and pyritous shales are 'pot' or 'rock-houses,' which so constantly accompany this formation in southern Indiana. Some of these, of no great height, have been tunneled back under the cliff to a distance of thirty or forty feet by force of the ancient river once flowing at this level." The position, in many respects, is like Starved Rock, on the Illinois, where La Salle built Fort St. Louis, and commands a fine view of the Wea plains, across the river eastward, and, before the recent growth of timber, of an arm of the Grand Prairie to the westward. The stockade fort and trading-post of Ouiatonon has often been confounded with the Wea villages, which were strung for several miles along the margin of the prairie, near the river, between Attica and La Fayette, on the south or east side of the river; and some writers have mistaken it for the village of *Keth-ti-pe-ca-nuk*, situated on the north bank of the Wabash River, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe. The fort was abandoned as a military post after its capture from the British by the Indians. It was always a place of considerable trade to the English, as well as the French. Thomas Hutchins, in his Historical and Topographical Atlas, published in 1778, estimates "the annual amount of skins and furs obtained at Ouiatonon at forty thousand dollars."

* Croghan's official report to Sir Wm. Johnson: London Documents, vol. 7, p. 780.

† These last-named Indian deputies, with Mr. Frazer, had gone down the Ohio with Croghan, and thence on to Fort Chartres. Not hearing anything from Croghan, or knowing what had become of him, Pontiac and these Indian deputies, on learning that Croghan was at Ouiatanon, set out for that place to meet him.

Frazer. The whole party, with deputies from the Illinois Indians, now returned to Ouiatanon, and there held another conference, in which were settled all matters with the Illinois Indians. "Pontiac and the Illinois deputies agreed to everything which the other tribes had conceded in the previous conferences at Ouiatanon, all of which was ratified with a solemn formality of pipes and belts."*

Here, then, upon the banks of the Wabash at Ouiatanon, did the Indian tribes, with the sanction of Pontiac, solemnly surrender possession of the northwest territory to the accredited agent of Great Britain.† Croghan and his party, now swollen to a large body by the accession of the principal chiefs of the several nations, set out "for the Miamis, and traveled the whole way through a fine rich bottom, alongside the Ouabache, arriving at Eel River on the 27th. About six miles up this river they found a small village of the *Twightwee*, situated on a very delightful spot of ground on the bank of the river."‡ Croghan's private journal continues: "July 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st we traveled still alongside the Eel River, passing through fine clear woods and some good meadows, though not so large as those we passed some days before. The country is more overgrown with woods, the soil is sufficiently rich, and well watered with springs."

On the 1st of August they "arrived at the carrying place between the River Miamis and the Ouabache, which is about nine miles long in dry seasons, but not above half that length in freshets." "Within a mile of the Twightwee village," says Croghan, "I was met by the chiefs of that nation, who received us very kindly. Most part of these Indians knew me, and conducted me to their village, where they immediately hoisted an *English flag* that I had formerly given them at *Fort Pitt*. The next day they held a council, after which they gave me up all the English prisoners they had, and expressed the pleasure it gave them to see [that] the unhappy differences which had embroiled the several nations in a war with their brethren, the English, were now so near a happy conclusion, and that peace was established in their country."§

* Croghan's official report, already quoted.

† It is true that Pontiac, with deputies of all the westward tribes, followed Croghan to Detroit, where another conference took place; but this was only a more formal ratification of the surrender which the Indians declared they had already made of the country at Ouiatanon.

‡ The Miami Indian name of this village was *Ke-na-pa-com-a-qua*. Its French name was A l'Anguille, or Eel River town. The Miami name of Eel River was *Kin-na-peei-kuoh Sepe*, or Water Snake (the Indians call the eel a water-snake fish) River. The village was situated on the north bank of Eel River, about six miles from Logansport. It was scattered along the river for some three miles.

§ The following is Mr. Croghan's description of the "Miamis," as it appeared in

From the Miamis the party proceeded down the Maumee in canoes. "About ninety miles, continues the journal, from the Miamis or Twightwee we came to where a large river, that heads in a large 'lick,' falls into the Miami River; this they call 'The Forks.' The Ottawas claim this country and hunt here.* This nation formerly lived at Detroit, but are now settled here on account of the richness of the country, where game is always to be found in plenty."

From Defiance Croghan's party were obliged to drag their canoes several miles, "on account of the riffis which interrupt the navigation," at the end of which they came to a village of Wyandottes, who received them kindly. From thence they proceeded in their canoes to the mouth of the Maumee. Passing several large bays and a number of rivers, they reached the Detroit River on the 16th of August, and Detroit on the following morning.†

As for Pontiac, his fate was tragical. He was fond of the French, and often visited the Spanish post at St. Louis, whither many of his old friends had gone from the Illinois side of the river. One day in 1767, as is supposed, he came to Mr. St. Ange (this veteran soldier of France still remained in the country), and said he was going over to Cahokia to visit the Kaskaskia Indians. St. Ange endeavored to dissuade him from it, reminding him of the little friendship existing between him and the British. Pontiac's answer was: "Captain, I am a man. I know how to fight. I have always fought openly. They will not murder me, and if any one attacks me as a brave man,

1765: "The Twightwee *village* is situated on *both* sides of a river called *St. Joseph's*. This river, where it falls into the Miami River, about a quarter of a mile from this place, is one hundred yards wide, *on the east side of which stands a stockade fort somewhat ruinous*." The Indian village consists of about forty or fifty cabins, besides nine or ten French houses, a runaway colony from Detroit during the late Indian war; they were concerned in it, and being afraid of punishment came to this post, where they have ever since spirited up the Indians against the English. All the French residing here are a lazy, indolent people, fond of breeding mischief, and they should not be suffered to remain. The country is pleasant, the soil rich and well watered."

*The place referred to is the mouth of the Auglaize, often designated as "The Forks" in many of the early accounts of the country. It may be noted that Croghan, like nearly all other early travelers, overestimates distances.

† Croghan describes Detroit as a large stockade "inclosing about eighty houses. It stands on the north side of the river on a high bank, and commands a very pleasant prospect for nine miles above and below the fort. The country is thick settled with French. Their plantations are generally laid out about three or four acres in breadth on the river, and eighty acres in depth; the soil is good, producing plenty of grain. All the people here are generally poor wretches, and consist of three or four hundred French families, a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly on the savages for their subsistence. Though the land, with little labor, produces plenty of grain, they scarcely raise as much as will supply their wants, in imitation of Indians, whose manners and customs they have entirely adopted, and cannot subsist without them. The men, women and children speak the Indian tongue perfectly well." At the conclusion of the lengthy conferences with the Indians, in which all matters were "settled to their satisfaction," Croghan set out from Detroit for Niagara, coasting along the north shore of Lake Erie in a birch canoe, arriving at the latter place on the 8th of October.

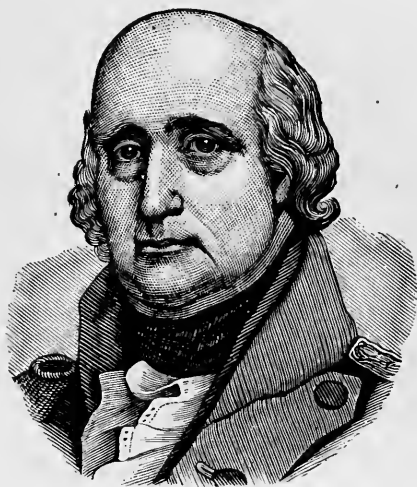
I am his match." Pontiac went over the river, was feasted, got drunk, and retired to the woods to sing medicine songs. In the meanwhile, an English merchant named Williamson bribed a Kaskaskia Indian with a barrel of rum and promises of a greater reward if he would take Pontiac's life. Pontiac was struck with a *pa-kama-gon* — tomahawk, and his skull fractured, causing death. This murder aroused the vengeance of all the Indian tribes friendly to Pontiac, and brought about the war resulting in the almost total extermination of the Illinois nation. He was a remarkably fine-looking man, neat in his person, and tasty in dress and in the arrangement of his ornaments. His complexion is said to have approached that of the whites.* St. Ange, hearing of Pontiac's death, kindly took charge of the body, and gave it a decent burial near the fort, the site of which is now covered by the city of St. Louis. "Neither mound nor tablet," says Francis Parkman, "marked the burial-place of Pontiac. For a mausoleum a city has arisen above the forest hue, and the race whom he hated with such burning rancor trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave."

*I. N. Nicollet's Report, etc., p. 81. Mr. Nicollet received his information concerning Pontiac from Col. Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, and Col. Pierre Menard, of Kaskaskia, who were personally acquainted with the facts.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GEN. CLARK'S CONQUEST OF "THE ILLINOIS."

AFTER the Indians had submitted to English rule the west enjoyed a period of quiet. When the American colonists, long complaining against the oppressive acts of the mother country, broke out into open revolt, and the war of the revolution fairly began, the English, from the westward posts of Detroit, Vincennes and Kaskaskia, incited the Indians against the frontier settlements, and from these depots supplied their war parties with guns and ammunition. The depredations of the Indians in Kentucky were so severe that in the fall of 1777 George Rogers Clark conceived, and next year executed, an expedition against the French settlements of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, which not only relieved Kentucky from the incursions of the savages, but at the same time resulted in consequences which are without parallel in the annals of the Northwest.*



GEN. CLARK.

* Gen. Clark* was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, on the 19th of November, 1752, and died and was buried at Locust Grove, near Louisville, Kentucky, in February, 1818. He came to Kentucky in the spring of 1775, and became early identified as a conspicuous leader in the border wars of that country. The border settlers of Kentucky could not successfully contend against the numerous and active war parties from the Wabash who were continually lurking in their neighborhoods, coming, as Indians do, stealthily, striking a blow where least expected, and escaping before assistance could relieve the localities which they devastated, killing women and children, destroying live stock and burning the pioneers' cabins. Clark conceived the idea of capturing Vincennes and Kaskaskia. Keeping his plans to himself, he proceeded to Williamsburg and laid them before Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, who promptly aided in their execution. From Gov. Henry Clark received two sets of instructions, one, to enlist seven companies of men, *ostensibly* for the protection of the people of Kentucky, which at that time was a county of Virginia, the other, a *secret order*, to *attack the British post of Kaskaskia!* The result of his achievements was overshadowed by the stirring events of the revolution eastward of the Alleghanies, where other heroes were winning a glory that dazzled while it drew public attention exclusively to

The account here given of Clark's campaign in "The Illinois" is taken from a manuscript memoir composed by Clark himself, at the joint request of Presidents Jefferson and Madison.* We prefer giving the account in Gen. Clark's own words, as far as practicable.

The memoir of Gen. Clark proceeds: "On the (24th) of June, 1778, we left our little island,† and run about a mile up the river in order to gain the main channel, and shot the falls at the very moment of the sun being in a great eclipse, which caused various conjectures among the superstitious. As I knew that spies were kept on the river below the towns of the Illinois, I had resolved to march part of the way by land, and of course left the whole of our baggage, except as much as would equip us in the Indian mode. The whole of our force, after leaving such as was judged not competent to [endure] the expected fatigue, consisted only of four companies, commanded by Captains John Montgomery, Joseph Bowman, Leonard Helms and William Harrod. My force being so small to what I expected, owing to the various circumstances already mentioned, I found it necessary to alter my plans of operation.

"I had fully acquainted myself that the French inhabitants in those western settlements had great influence among the Indians in general, and were more beloved by them than any other Europeans; that their commercial intercourse was universal throughout the western and northwestern countries, and that the governing interest on the lakes was mostly in the hands of the English, who were not much beloved by them. These, and many other ideas similar thereto, caused me to resolve, if possible, to strengthen myself by such train of conduct as might probably attach the French inhabitants to our interest, and give us influence in the country we were aiming for. These were the principles that influenced my future conduct, and, fortunately, I had just received a letter from Col.

them. The west was a wilderness,—excepting the isolated French settlements about Kaskaskia, and at Vincennes and Detroit,—and occupied only by savages and wild animals. It was not until after the great Northwest began to be settled, and its capabilities to sustain the empire,—since seated in its lap,—was realized, that the magnitude of the conquest forced itself into notice. The several states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, carved out of the territory which he so gloriously won,—nay, the whole nation,—owe to the memory of George Rogers Clark a debt of gratitude that cannot be repaid in a mere expression of words. An account of his life and eminent services, worthy of the man, yet remains to be written.

* Judge John B. Dillon, when preparing his first history of Indiana, in 1843, had access to Clark's original manuscript memoir, and copied copious extracts in the volume named, and it is from this source that the extracts appearing in this work were taken. This book of Judge Dillon is not to be confounded with a History of Indiana, prepared and published by him in 1859. His first book, although somewhat crude, is exceedingly valuable for the historical matter it contains relating to the whole Northwest, while the latter is a better digested history of the state of which he was an eminent citizen.

† At Louisville.

Campbell, dated Pittsburgh, informing me of the contents of the treaties* between France and America. As I intended to leave the Ohio at Fort Massac, three leagues below the Tennessee, I landed on a small island in the mouth of that river, in order to prepare for the march. In a few hours after, one John Duff and a party of hunters coming down the river were brought to by our boats. They were men formerly from the states, and assured us of their happiness in the adventure. . . . They had been but lately from Kaskaskia, and were able to give us all the intelligence we wished. They said that Gov. Abbot had lately left Port Vincennes, and gone to Detroit on business of importance; that Mr. Rochblave commanded at Kaskaskia, etc.; that the militia was kept in good order, and spies on the Mississippi, and that all hunters, both Indians and others, were ordered to keep a good look-out for the rebels; that the fort was kept in good order as an asylum, etc., but they believed the whole to proceed more from the fondness for parade than the expectation of a visit; that if they received timely notice of us, they would collect and give us a warm reception, as they were taught to harbor a most horrid idea of the rebels, especially the Virginians; but that if we could surprise the place, which they were in hopes we might, they made no doubt of our being able to do as we pleased; that they hoped to be received as partakers in the enterprise, and wished us to put full confidence in them, and they would assist the guides in conducting the party. This was agreed to, and they proved valuable men.

“The acquisition to us was great, as I had no intelligence from those posts since the spies I sent twelve months past. But no part of their information pleased me more than that of the inhabitants viewing us as more savage than their neighbors, the Indians. I was determined to improve upon this if I was fortunate enough to get them into my possession, as I conceived the greater the shock I could give them at first the more sensibly would they feel my lenity, and become more valuable friends. This I conceived to be agreeable to human nature, as I had observed it in many instances. Having everything prepared, we moved down to a little gully a small distance above Massac, in which we concealed our boats, and set out a northwest course. The weather was favorable. In some parts water was scarce, as well as game. Of course we suffered drought and hunger, but not to excess. On the third day John

*The timely information received of the alliance between the United States and France was made use of by Gen. Clark with his usual tact and with great success, as will be seen farther on.

Saunders, our principal guide, appeared confused, and we soon discovered that he was totally lost, without there was some other cause of his present conduct.

“I asked him various questions, and from his answers I could scarcely determine what to think of him,—whether or not that he was lost, or that he wished to deceive us. . . . The cry of the whole detachment was that he was a traitor. He begged that he might be suffered to go some distance into a plain that was in full view, to try to make some discovery whether or not he was right. I told him he might go, but that I was suspicious of him, from his conduct; that from the first day of his being employed he always said he knew the way well; that there was now a different appearance; that I saw the nature of the country was such that a person once acquainted with it could not in a short time forget it; that a few men should go with him to prevent his escape, and that if he did not discover and take us into the hunter’s road that led from the east into Kaskaskia, which he had frequently described, I would have him immediately put to death, which I was determined to have done. But after a search of an hour or two he came to a place that he knew perfectly, and we discovered that the poor fellow had been, as they call it, bewildered.

“On the *fourth of July*, in the evening, we got within a few miles of the town, where we lay until near dark, keeping spies ahead, after which we commenced our march, and took possession of a house wherein a large family lived, on the bank of the Kaskaskia River, about three-quarters of a mile above the town. Here we were informed that the people a few days before were under arms, but had concluded that the cause of the alarm was without foundation, and that at that time there was a great number of men in town, but that the Indians had generally left it, and at present all was quiet. We soon procured a sufficiency of vessels, the more in case to convey us across the river.

“With one of the divisions I marched to the fort, and ordered the other two into different quarters of the town. If I met with no resistance, at a certain signal a general shout was to be given and certain parts were to be immediately possessed, and men of each detachment, who could speak the French language, were to run through every street and proclaim what had happened, and inform the inhabitants that every person that appeared in the streets would be shot down. This disposition had its desired effect. In a very little time we had complete possession, and every avenue was guarded to prevent any escape to give the alarm to the other villages in case of opposi-

tion. Various orders had been issued not worth mentioning. I don't suppose greater silence ever reigned among the inhabitants of a place than did at this at present; not a person to be seen, not a word to be heard by them, for some time, but, designedly, the greatest noise kept up by our troops through every quarter of the town, and patrols continually the whole night around it, as intercepting any information was a capital object, and in about two hours the whole of the inhabitants were disarmed, and informed that if one was taken attempting to make his escape he should be immediately put to death."

When Col. Clark, by the use of various bloodless means, had raised the terror of the French inhabitants to a painful height, he surprised them, and won their confidence and friendship, by performing, unexpectedly, several acts of justice and generosity. On the morning of the 5th of July a few of the principal men were arrested and put in irons. Soon afterward M. Gibault, the priest of the village, accompanied by five or six aged citizens, waited on Col. Clark, and said that the inhabitants expected to be separated, perhaps never to meet again, and they begged to be permitted to assemble in their church, and there to take leave of each other. Col. Clark mildly told the priest that he had nothing to say against his religion; that it was a matter which Americans left for every man to settle with his God; that the people might assemble in their church, if they would, but that they must not venture out of town.

Nearly the whole French population assembled at the church. The houses were deserted by all who could leave them, and Col. Clark gave orders to prevent any soldiers from entering the vacant buildings. After the close of the meeting at the church a deputation, consisting of M. Guibault and several other persons, waited on Col. Clark, and said "that their present situation was the fate of war, and that they could submit to the loss of their property, but they solicited that they might not be separated from their wives and children, and that some clothes and provisions might be allowed for their support." Clark feigned surprise at this request, and abruptly exclaimed, "Do you mistake us for savages? I am almost certain you do from your language! Do you think that Americans intend to strip women and children, or take the bread out of their mouths? My countrymen," said Clark, "disdain to make war upon helpless innocence. It was to prevent the horrors of Indian butchery upon our own wives and children that we have taken arms and penetrated into this remote stronghold of British and Indian barbarity, and not the despicable prospect of plunder; that now the

king of France had united his powerful arms with those of America, the war would not, in all probability, continue long, but the inhabitants of Kaskaskia were at liberty to take which side they pleased, without the least danger to either their property or families. Nor would their religion be any source of disagreement, as all religions were regarded with equal respect in the eye of the American law, and that any insult offered to it would be immediately punished."

"And now," Clark continues, "to prove my sincerity, you will please inform your fellow-citizens that they are quite at liberty to conduct themselves as usual, without the least apprehension. I am now convinced, from what I have learned since my arrival among you, that you have been misinformed and prejudiced against us by British officers, and your friends who are in confinement shall immediately be released."* In a few minutes after the delivery of this speech the gloom that rested on the minds of the inhabitants of Kaskaskia had passed away. The news of the treaty of alliance between France and the United States, and the influence of the magnanimous conduct of Clark, induced the French villagers to take the oath of allegiance to the state of Virginia. Their arms were restored to them, and a volunteer company of French militia joined a detachment under Capt. Bowman, when that officer was dispatched to take possession of Cahokia. The inhabitants of this small village, on hearing what had taken place at Kaskaskia, readily took the oath of allegiance to Virginia.

The memoir of Clark proceeds: "Post Vincennes never being out of my mind, and from some things that I had learned I suspected that Mr. Gibault, the priest, was inclined to the American interest previous to our arrival in the country. He had great influence over the people at this period, and Post Vincennes was under his jurisdiction. I made no doubt of his integrity to us. I sent for him, and had a long conference with him on the subject of Post Vincennes. In answer to all my queries he informed me that he did not think it worth my while to cause any military preparation to be made at the Falls of the Ohio for the attack of Post Vincennes, although the place was strong and a great number of Indians in its neighborhood, who, to his knowledge, were generally at war; that the governor had, a few weeks before, left the place on some business to Detroit; that he expected that when the inhabitants were fully acquainted with what had passed at the Illinois, and the present happiness of their friends, and made fully acquainted with the nature of the war, their sentiments would greatly change; that he knew that his appearance

* Clark's Memoir.

there would have great weight, even among the savages; that if it was agreeable to me he would take this business on himself, and had no doubt of his being able to bring that place over to the American interest without my being at the trouble of marching against it; that the business being altogether spiritual, he wished that another person might be charged with the temporal part of the embassy, but that he would privately direct the whole, and he named Dr. Lafont as his associate.

“This was perfectly agreeable to what I had been secretly aiming at for some days. The plan was immediately settled, and the two doctors, with their intended retinue, among whom I had a spy, set about preparing for their journey, and set out on the 14th of July, with an address to the inhabitants of Post Vincennes, authorizing them to garrison their own town themselves, which would convince them of the great confidence we put in them, etc. All this had its desired effect. Mr. Gibault and his party arrived safe, and after their spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal (except a few emissaries left by Mr. Abbot, who immediately left the country), and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in a most solemn manner. An officer was elected, the fort immediately [garrisoned], and the American flag displayed to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes. The people here immediately began to put on a new face, and to talk in a different style, and to act as perfect freemen. With a garrison of their own, with the United States at their elbow, their language to the Indians was immediately altered. They began as citizens of the United States, and informed the Indians that their old father, the king of France, was come to life again, and was mad at them for fighting for the English; that they would advise them to make peace with the Americans as soon as they could, otherwise they might expect the land to be very bloody, etc. The Indians began to think seriously; throughout the country this was the kind of language they generally got from their ancient friends of the Wabash and Illinois. Through the means of their correspondence spreading among the nations, our batteries began now to play in a proper channel. Mr. Gibault and party, accompanied by several gentlemen of Post Vincennes, returned to Kaskaskia about the 1st of August with the joyful news. During his absence on this business, which caused great anxiety to me (for without the possession of this post all our views would have been blasted), I was exceedingly engaged in regulating things in the Illi-

nois. The reduction of these posts was the period of the enlistment of our troops. I was at a great loss at the time to determine how to act, and how far I might venture to strain my authority. My instructions were silent on many important points, as it was impossible to foresee the events that would take place. To abandon the country, and all the prospects that opened to our view in the Indian department at this time, for the want of instruction in certain cases, I thought would amount to a reflection on government, as having no confidence in me. I resolved to usurp all the authority necessary to carry my points. I had the greater part of our [troops] reënlisted on a different establishment, commissioned French officers in the country to command a company of the young inhabitants, established a garrison at Cahokia, commanded by Capt. Bowman, and another at Kaskaskia, commanded by Capt. Williams. Post Vincennes remained in the situation as mentioned. Col. William Linn, who had accompanied us as a volunteer, took charge of a party that was to be discharged upon their arrival at the Falls, and orders were sent for the removal of that post to the mainland. Capt. John Montgomery was dispatched to government with letters. . . . I again turned my attention to Post Vincennes. I plainly saw that it would be highly necessary to have an American officer at that post. Capt. Leonard Helm appeared calculated to answer my purpose; he was past the meridian of life, and a good deal acquainted with the Indian [disposition]. I sent him to command at that post, and also appointed him agent for Indian affairs in the department of the Wabash. . . . About the middle of August he set out to take possession of his new command.* Thus," says Clark, referring to

* "An Indian chief called the Tobacco's Son, a Piankeshaw, at this time resided in a village adjoining Post Vincennes. This man was called by the Indians 'The Grand Door to the Wabash'; and as nothing of consequence was to be undertaken by the league on the Wabash without his assent, I discovered that to win him was an object of signal importance. I sent him a spirited compliment by Mr. Gibault; he returned it. I now, by Capt. Helm, touched him on the same spring that I had done the inhabitants, and sent a speech, with a belt of wampum, directing Capt. Helm how to manage if the chief was pacifically inclined or otherwise. The captain arrived safe at Post Vincennes, and was received with acclamations by the people. After the usual ceremony was over he sent for the Grand Door, and delivered my letter to him. After having read it, he informed the captain that he was happy to see him, one of the *Big Knife* chiefs, in this town; it was here he had joined the English against him; but he confessed that he always thought they looked gloomy; that as the contents of the letter were of great moment, he could not give an answer for some time; that he must collect his counsellors on the subject, and was in hopes the captain would be patient. In short, he put on all the courtly dignity that he was master of, and Capt. Helm following his example, it was several days before this business was finished, as the whole proceeding was very ceremonious. At length the captain was invited to the Indian council, and informed by Tobacco that they had maturely considered the case in hand, and had got the nature of the war between the English and us explained to their satisfaction; that as we spoke the same language and appeared to be the same people, he always thought that he was in the dark as to the truth of it, but now the sky was

Helm's success, "ended this valuable negotiation, and the saving of much blood. . . . In a short time almost the whole of the various tribes of the different nations on the Wabash, as high as the Ouia-tanon, came to Post Vincennes, and followed the example of the Grand Door Chief; and as expresses were continually passing between Capt. Helm and myself the whole time of these treaties, the business was settled perfectly to my satisfaction, and greatly to the advantage of the public. The British interest daily lost ground in this quarter, and in a short time our influence reached the Indians on the River St. Joseph and the border of Lake Michigan. The French gentlemen at the different posts we now had possession of engaged warmly in our interest. They appeared to vie with each other in promoting the business, and through the means of their correspondence, trading among the Indians, and otherwise, in a short time the Indians of various tribes inhabiting the region of Illinois came in great numbers to Cahokia, in order to make treaties of peace with us. From the information they generally got from the French gentlemen (whom they implicitly believed) respecting us, they were truly alarmed, and, consequently, we were visited by the greater part of them, without any invitation from us. Of course we had greatly the advantage in making use of such language as suited our [interest]. Those treaties, which commenced about the last of August and continued between three and four weeks, were probably conducted in a way different from any other known in America at that time. I had been always convinced that our general conduct with the Indians was wrong; that inviting them to treaties was considered by them in a different manner from what we expected, and imputed by them to fear, and that giving them great presents confirmed it. I resolved to guard against this, and I took good pains to make myself acquainted fully with the French and Spanish methods of treating Indians, and with the manners, genius and disposition of the Indians in general. As in this quarter they had not yet been spoiled by us, I was resolved that they should not be. I began the business fully prepared, having copies of the British treaties."

At the first great council, which was opened at Cahokia, an Indian chief, with a belt of peace in his hand, advanced to the table at which

cleared up; that he found that the 'Big Knife' was in the right; that perhaps if the English conquered, they would serve them in the same manner that they intended to serve us; that his ideas were quite changed, and that he would tell all the red people on the Wabash to bloody the land no more for the English. He jumped up, struck his breast, called himself a man and a warrior, said that he was now a Big Knife, and took Capt. Helm by the hand. His example was followed by all present, and the evening was spent in merriment."

Col. Clark was sitting; another chief, bearing the sacred pipe of the tribe, went forward to the table, and a third chief then advanced with fire to kindle the pipe. When the pipe was lighted it was figuratively presented to the heavens, then to the earth, then to all the good spirits, to witness what was about to be done. After the observance of these forms the pipe was presented to Clark, and afterward to every person present. An Indian speaker then addressed the Indians as follows: "Warriors,—You ought to be thankful that the Great Spirit has taken pity on you, and cleared the sky and opened your ears and hearts, so that you may hear the truth. We have been deceived by bad birds flying through the land. But we will take up the bloody hatchet no more against the Big Knife,* and we hope, as the Great Spirit has brought us together for good, as he is good, that we may be received as friends, and that the belt of peace may take the place of the bloody belt."

"I informed them," says Clark, "that I had paid attention to what they had said, and that on the next day I would give them an answer, when I hoped the ears and hearts of all people would be opened to receive the truth, which should be spoken without deception. I advised them to keep prepared for the result of this day, on which, perhaps, their very existence as a nation depended, etc., and dismissed them, not suffering any of our people to shake hands with them, as peace was not yet concluded, telling them it was time enough to give the hand when the heart could be given also. They replied that 'such sentiments were like men who had but one heart, and did not speak with a double tongue.' The next day I delivered them the following speech:

"Men and Warriors,—Pay attention to my words: You informed me yesterday that the Great Spirit had brought us together, and that you hoped, as he was good, that it would be for good. I have also the same hope, and expect that each party will strictly adhere to whatever may be agreed upon, whether it be peace or war, and henceforward prove ourselves worthy of the attention of the Great Spirit. I am a man and a warrior,—not a counsellor. I carry war in my

*The early border men of Virginia and her county of Kentucky usually carried very large knives. From this circumstance the Virginians were called, in the Illinois (Miami) dialect, *She-mol-sea*, meaning the "Big Knife." At a later day the same appellation, under the Chippewayan word *Che-mo-ko-man*, was extended, by the Indians, to the white people generally,—always excepting the Englishman proper, whom they called the *Sag-e-nash*, and the Yankees to whom they gave the epithet of *Bos-to-ne-ly*, i.e., the Bostonians. The term is derived from the Miami word *mal-she*, or *mol-sea*, a knife, or the Ojibbeway *mo-ko-man*, which means the same thing. The prefix *che* or *she* emphasizes the kind or size of the instrument, as a huge, long or big knife. Such is the origin of the expression "long knives," frequently found in books where Indian characters occur.

right hand, and in my left, peace. I am sent by the great council of the Big Knife, and their friends, to take possession of all the towns possessed by the English in this country, and to watch the motions of the red people; to bloody the paths of those who attempt to stop the course of the river, but to clear the roads from us to those who desire to be in peace, that the women and children may walk in them without meeting anything to strike their feet against. I am ordered to call upon the Great Fire for warriors enough to darken the land, and that the red people may hear no sound but of birds who live on blood. I know there is a mist before your eyes. I will dispel the clouds, that you may clearly see the cause of the war between the Big Knife and the English, then you may judge for yourselves which party is in the right, and if you are warriors, as you profess to be, prove it by adhering faithfully to the party which you shall believe to be entitled to your friendship, and do not show yourselves to be squaws.

‘The Big Knives are very much like the red people. They don’t know how to make blankets and powder and cloth. They buy these things from the English, from whom they are sprung. They live by making corn, hunting and trade, as you and your neighbors, the French, do. But the Big Knives, daily getting more numerous, like the trees in the woods, the land became poor and hunting scarce, and having but little to trade with, the women began to cry at seeing their children naked, and tried to learn how to make clothes for themselves. They soon made blankets for their husbands and children, and the men learned to make guns and powder. In this way we did not want to buy so much from the English. They then got mad with us, and sent strong garrisons through our country, as you see they have done among you on the lakes, and among the French. They would not let our women spin, nor our men make powder, nor let us trade with anybody else. The English said we should buy everything of them, and since we had got saucy we should give two bucks for a blanket, which we used to get for one; we should do as they pleased; and they killed some of our people, to make the rest fear them. This is the truth, and the real cause of the war between the English and us, which did not take place until some time after this treatment.

‘But our women became cold and hungry and continued to cry. Our young men got lost for want of counsel to put them in the right path. The whole land was dark. The old men held down their heads for shame, because they could not see the sun; and thus there was mourning for many years over the land. At last the Great

Spirit took pity on us, and kindled a great council fire, that never goes out, at a place called Philadelphia. He then stuck down a post, and put a war tomahawk by it, and went away. The sun immediately broke out, the sky was blue again, and the old men held up their heads and assembled at the fire. They took up the hatchet, sharpened it, and put it into the hands of our young men, ordering them to strike the English as long as they could find one on this side of the great waters. The young men immediately struck the war post and blood was shed. In this way the war began, and the English were driven from one place to another until they got weak, and then they hired you red people to fight for them. The Great Spirit got angry at this, and caused your old father, the French king, and other great nations, to join the Big Knives, and fight with them against all their enemies. So the English have become like deer in the woods, and you may see that it is the Great Spirit that has caused your waters to be troubled, because you have fought for the people he was mad with. If your women and children should now cry, you must blame yourselves for it, and not the Big Knives.

‘You can now judge who is in the right. I have already told you who I am. Here is a bloody belt and a white one, take which you please. Behave like men, and don’t let your being surrounded by the Big Knives cause you to take up the one belt with your hands while your hearts take up the other. If you take the bloody path, you shall leave the town in safety, and may go and join your friends, the English. We will then try, like warriors, who can put the most stumbling-blocks in each other’s way, and keep our clothes longest stained with blood. If, on the other hand, you should take the path of peace, and be received as brothers to the Big Knives, with their friends, the French; should you then listen to bad birds that may be flying through the land, you will no longer deserve to be counted as men, but as creatures with two tongues, that ought to be destroyed without listening to anything you might say. As I am convinced you never heard the truth before, I do not wish you to answer before you have taken time to counsel. We will, therefore, part this evening, and when the Great Spirit shall bring us together again, let us speak and think like men, with but one heart and one tongue.’

“The next day after this speech a new fire was kindled with more than usual ceremony; an Indian speaker came forward and said: They ought to be thankful that the Great Spirit had taken pity on them, and opened their ears and their hearts to receive the truth. He had paid great attention to what the Great Spirit had

put into my heart to say to them. They believed the whole to be the truth, as the Big Knives did not speak like any other people they had ever heard. They now saw they had been deceived, and that the English had told them lies, and that I had told them the truth, just as some of their old men had always told them. They now believed that we were in the right; and as the English had forts in their country, they might, if they got strong enough, want to serve the red people as they had treated the Big Knives. The red people ought, therefore, to help us, and they had, with a cheerful heart, taken up the belt of peace, and spurned that of war. They were determined to hold the former fast, and would have no doubt of our friendship, from the manner of our speaking, so different from that of the English. They would now call in their warriors, and throw the tomahawk into the river, where it could never be found. They would suffer no more bad birds to fly through the land, disquieting the women and children. They would be careful to smooth the roads for their brothers, the Big Knives, whenever they might wish to come and see them. Their friends should hear of the good talk I had given them; and they hoped I would send chiefs among them, with my eyes, to see myself that they were men, and strictly adhered to all they had said at this great fire, which the Great Spirit had kindled at Cahokia for the good of all people who would attend it."

The sacred pipe was again kindled, and presented, figuratively, to the heavens and the earth, and to all the good spirits, as witness of what had been done. The Indians and the white men then closed the council by smoking the pipe and shaking hands. With no material variation, either of the forms that were observed, or with the speeches that were made at this council, Col. Clark and his officers concluded treaties of peace with the Piankeshaws, Ouiatenons, Kickapoos, Illinois, Kaskaskias, Peorias, and branches of some other tribes that inhabited the country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi.

Gov. Henry soon received intelligence of the successful progress of the expedition under the command of Clark. The French inhabitants of the villages of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Post Vincennes took the oath of allegiance to the State of Virginia.

In October, 1778, the General Assembly of the State of Virginia passed an act which contained the following provisions, viz: All the citizens of the Commonwealth of Virginia "who are already settled or shall hereafter settle *on the western side of the Ohio*, shall be included in a distinct county, which shall be called *Illinois county*;

and the governor of this commonwealth, with the advice of the council, may appoint a county lieutenant, or commandant-in-chief, in that county, during pleasure, who shall appoint and commission so many deputy commandants, militia officers and commissaries as he shall think proper in the different districts, during pleasure; all of whom, before they enter into office, shall take the oath of fidelity to this commonwealth and the oath of office, according to the form of their own religion. And all civil officers to which the inhabitants have been accustomed, necessary for the preservation of the peace and the administration of justice, shall be chosen by a majority of the citizens in their respective districts, to be convened for that purpose by the county lieutenant, or commandant, or his deputy, and shall be commissioned by the said county lieutenant or commandant-in-chief."

Before the provisions of the law were carried into effect, Henry Hamilton, the British lieutenant-governor of Detroit, collected an army, consisting of about thirty regulars, fifty French volunteers, and four hundred Indians. With this force he passed down the River Wabash, and took possession of Post Vincennes on the 15th of December, 1778. No attempt was made by the population to defend the town. Capt. Helm was taken and detained as a prisoner, and a number of the French inhabitants disarmed.

Clark was aware that Gov. Hamilton, now that he had regained possession of Vincennes, would undertake the capture of his forces, and realizing his danger, he determined to forestall Hamilton and capture the latter. His plans were at once formed. He sent a portion of his available force by boat, called *The Willing*, with instructions to Capt. Rogers, the commander, to proceed down the Mississippi and up the Ohio and Wabash, and secrete himself a few miles below Vincennes, and prohibit any persons from passing either up or down. With another part of his force he marched across the country, through prairies, swamps and marshes, crossing swollen streams—for it was in the month of February, and the whole country was flooded from continuous rains—and arriving at the banks of the Wabash near St. Francisville, he pushed across the river and brought his forces in the rear of Vincennes before daybreak. So secret and rapid were his movements that Gov. Hamilton had no notice that Clark had left Kaskaskia. Clark issued a notice requiring the people of the town to keep within their houses, and declaring that all persons found elsewhere would be treated as enemies. *Tobacco's Son* tendered one hundred of his Piankashaw braves, himself at their head. Clark declined their services with thanks, saying his

own force was sufficient. Gov. Hamilton had just completed the fort, consisting of strong block-houses at each angle, with the cannon placed on the upper floors, at an elevation of eleven feet from the surface. The works were at once closely invested. The ports were so badly cut, the men on the inside could not stand to their cannon for the bullets that would whiz from the rifles of Clark's sharpshooters through the embrasures whenever they were suffered for an instant to remain open.

The town immediately surrendered with joy, and assisted at the siege. After the first offer to surrender upon terms was declined, Hamilton and Clark, with attendants, met in a conference at the Catholic church, situated some eighty rods from the fort, and in the afternoon of the same day, the 24th of February, 1779, the fort and garrison, consisting of seventy-five men, surrendered at discretion.* The result was that Hamilton and his whole force were made prisoners of war.† Clark held military possession of the northwest until the close of the war, and in that way it was secured to our country. At the treaty of peace, held at Paris at the close of the revolutionary war, the British insisted that the Ohio River should be the northern boundary of the United States. The correspondence relative to that treaty shows that the only ground on which "the American commissioners relied to sustain their claim that the lakes should be the boundary was the fact that *Gen. Clark* had conquered the country, and was in the undisputed *military possession* of it at the time of the negotiation. This fact was affirmed and admitted, and was the chief ground on which British commissioners reluctantly abandoned their claim."‡

*Two days after the *Willing* arrived, its crew much mortified because they did not share in the victory, although Clark commended them for their diligence. Two days before Capt. Rogers' arrival with the *Willing*, Clark had dispatched three armed boats, under charge of Capt. Helm and Majors Bosseron and Le Grass, up the Wabash, to intercept a fleet which Clark was advised was on its way from Detroit, laden with supplies for Gov. Hamilton at Vincennes. About one hundred and twenty miles up the river the British boats, seven in number, having aboard military supplies of the value of ten thousand pounds sterling money and forty men, among whom was Philip De Jean, a magistrate of Detroit, were captured by Capt. Helm. The writer has before him the statement of John McFall, born near Vincennes in 1798. He lived near and in Vincennes until 1817. His grandfather, Ralph Mattison, was one of Clark's soldiers who accompanied Helm's expedition up the Wabash, and he often told McFall, his grandson, that the British were lying by in the Vermilion River, near its mouth, where they were surprised in the night-time and captured by Helm without firing a shot.

†This march, from its daring conception, and the obstacles encountered and overcome, is one of the most thrilling events in our history, and it is to be regretted that the limited space assigned to other topics precludes its insertion.

‡Burnett's Notes on the Northwest Territory, p. 77.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—THE ORDINANCE OF 1787—BILL OF RIGHTS—FREE SCHOOL SYSTEM—PROVISIONS FOR STATES—OLD BOUNDARIES BETWEEN CANADA AND LOUISIANA—INDIAN WARS—THE INDIAN COUNTRY RAVAGED.

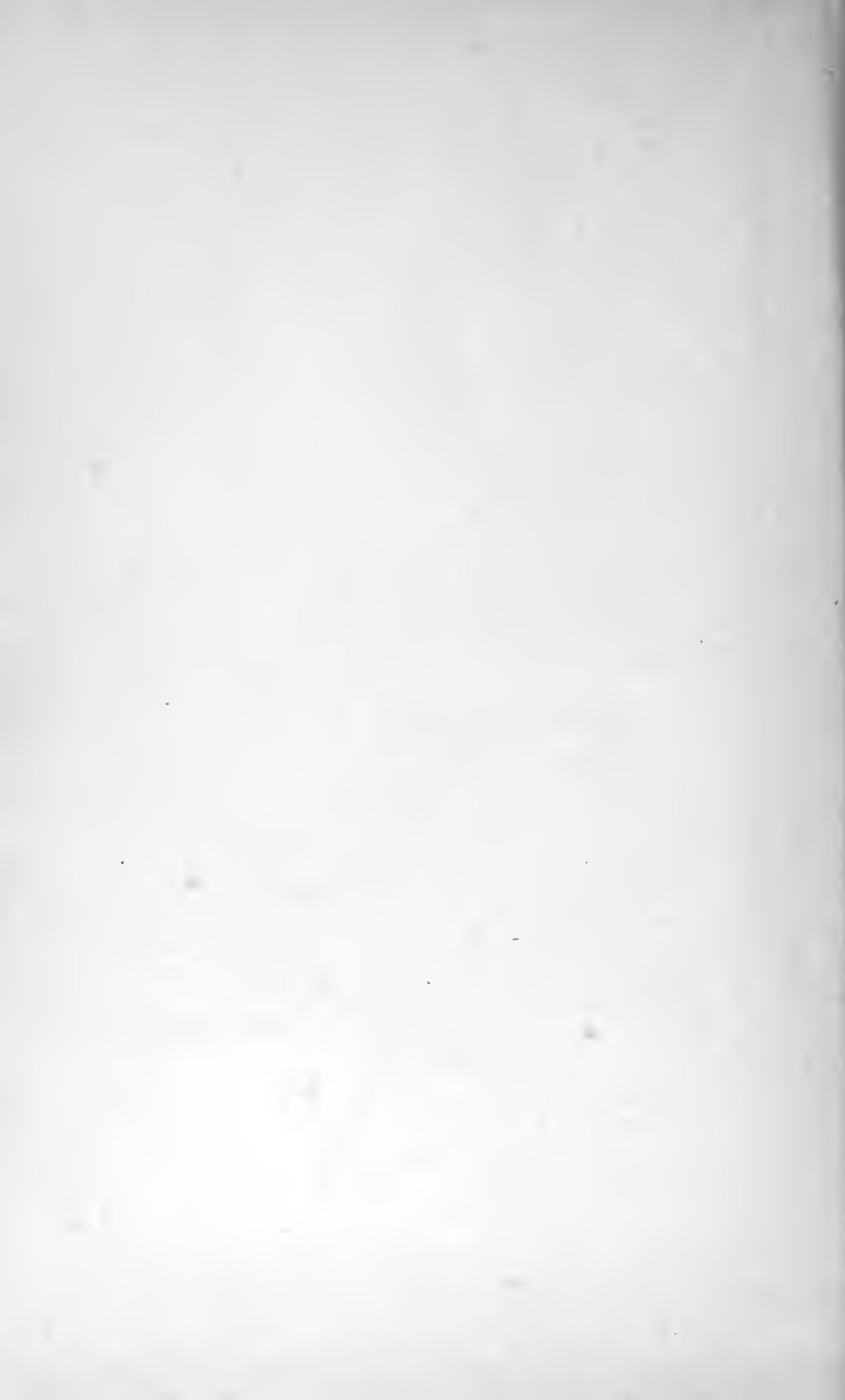
COL. CLARK having captured Gov. Hamilton's forces at Vincennes, and reëstablished the authority of Virginia over the northwest territory, Col. John Todd, commissioned as lieutenant for the county of Illinois, in the spring of 1779 proceeded to Kaskaskia and Vincennes, and organized a government under the act of the General Assembly of Virginia of October, 1778, for the establishing of "*Illinois County*." Col. Todd formed courts of justice, and provided other machinery to secure peace and good order among the inhabitants. The court was comprised of several magistrates, who dispensed justice, in the absence of statutes specifically defining their powers, pretty much according to their own unrestrained notions of equity, applied according to the emergency of each particular case, as it would come before them, much after the manner of the early French commandants.*

The northwest territory soon became a source of trouble to the continental congress. Besides the claims of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut asserted title to portions of it by virtue of their ancient charters.† These conflicting claims were the subjects of much discussion and legislative action in the states named, and by congress as well. Congress, on the 6th of September, 1780, requested the several states "having claims to waste and unappropriated lands in the western country to cede a portion.

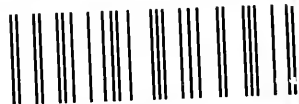
* "The court" was one of high authority, and among the powers it arrogated to itself was the right of disposing of the public lands. After having granted some twenty-two thousand acres to private individuals, by orders entered from time to time upon their records, "the court" partitioned large tracts among themselves; the recipient member would, out of modesty, absent himself from "court" on the day the entry was made on the journal by his associates in his favor, "so that it might appear to be the act of his fellows only." Official letter of Gen. Harrison, January 19, 1802. The evil grew to such proportions that Gen. Harner, in 1787, issued a military order suppressing it.

† Connecticut, claiming through her charter granted on the 23d of April, 1662, by King Charles the Second, passed a resolution in 1783, to the effect "That all the land lying west of the western limits of Pennsylvania and east of the Mississippi, and between the forty-first and forty-second parallels of latitude," was hers.





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